England's [illegible]rance;

A

True and Full NARRA[illegible]IVE

OF

Those two never to be forgotten

DELIVERANCES

One From

The Spanish Invasion 1588.

The other from

The Hellish Powder Plot.

November 5. 160[illegible]

Whereunto is added

The like Narrative of that signal Judgment of God upon the Papists, by the sudden fall of a House in *Black-Fryers London*, the fifth of *November*, 1623.

Collected for the Information and Benefit of Posterity, by *Sam. Clark*, formerly Pa[illegible]

Behold the wicked travaileth with [illegible] conceived mischief, and brought forth falshood. He made a Pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate. Psal. 7. 14, 15, 16.

LON[illegible]

Br 1745.20*
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TO THE
HONOURABLE
And his
Much Honoured Friends
EDWARD RUSSEL, Esq;
Son to the Right Honourable
Francis Earl of *BEDFORD*.

AND TO
The Lady *PENELOPE*
His prudent and pious Consort.

Sir, Madam,

I *Take the boldness to present you with these* Narratives, *not for that they are new, or supposing your selves to be strangers to* [illegible] *but as a Testimony of my Gratitude for those favours I have received from you: The high Heavens may* [illegible]

in the lowest valleys: So may a large heart in the least Gift. But truly though the Gift be worthless, yet so is not the matter contained in it, which sets forth such eminent and signal deliverances as no Church or people in these latter Ages of the world have received; And there must be a recognition of Gods mercies, or else there will neither follow estimation, nor retribution: Hence Micah 6. 5. O my people (*saith God many hundreds of years after*) remember now what *Balack* King of *Moab* consulted, and what *Balaam* the Son of *Beor* answered him from *Shittim* unto *Gilgal*, that ye may know the righteousness of the Lord. *If there be not such a recognition of former deliverances, we that should be as Temples of his praise, shall be as graves of his benefits. Our souls indeed are too like filthy Ponds, wherein fish die soon, and frogs live long: Rotten stuff is remembred, memorable mercies are forgotten*

forgotten; whereas the ſoul ſhould be as an holy Ark; the memory as the pot of Manna, *preſerving holy truths and ſpecial mercies; as* Aarons Rod, *freſh and flouriſhing. Oh! let us imitate that man after Gods own heart! If the Lord will be* Davids *Shepherd, he will dwell in Gods houſe to all perpetuity,* Pſalm 23. 1, 6. *If God deal bountifully with him, he will ſit down and bethink himſelf what to render for all his benefits,* Pſalm 116. 7, &c. *A Chriſtian counts all that he can do for God by way of retribution, but a little of that much he could beteem him; and thinks nothing more unbeſeeming him than to bury the mercies of God in oblivion. His two mites of* Thankfulneſs *and* Obedience *he daily preſents, and then cryes out as that poor* Grecian *did to the Emperour,* If I had a better preſent thou ſhouldeſt be ſure of it.

What then may we judge of thoſe perſons in our daies, who labour to

extenuate, yea annihilate these deliverances? that would have no publick commemorations of them, that study how to invalidate them, and to blot out the remembrance of them? To render good for evil is Divine: Good for good is Humane: Evil for evil is brutish: But evil for good is Devillish. Yet alas! how ordinary an evil is this among us, to abuse our deliverances to Gods dishonour? But Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people, and unwise? Is not he thy Father? he hath bought thee, *&c.* Deut. 32. 6. *Should we not remember that good-turns aggravate unkindnesses, and our offences are not a little encreased by our obligations? Ingrateful persons are like the Snake in the Fable, who said to the Countryman when he had shewed it kindness:* Summum præmium pro summo beneficio est ingratitudo. *Ingratitude*

gratitude is the greateſt reward of the greateſt benefit.

How many ſuch Snakes have we amongſt us, that return evil for good, and unkindneſs for kindneſs? Is not this to fight againſt God, with his own weapons? as David *did againſt* Goliah: *as* Jehu *did againſt* Jehoram: *and as* Benhadad *did againſt* Ahab, *with that life that he had lately given him? For the preventing whereof (if it may be) are theſe things publiſhed, being almoſt worn out of remembrance more than the very names of them. Beſides, though they may be found in larger Volumes, yet are they not ſo fit for every Family: And as I have preſumed (honourable and beloved) to publiſh them under your protection, ſo I doubt not but they will find the better entertainment for the ſame. My earneſt deſire and prayer for you is, that* the God of Peace will fill you with

with all joy and peace by believeing, *multiplying his Blessings upon you and yours: And that you would afford me a room in your* Albe *among those that*

Sir, Madam,

Love, honour and
serve you,

From my Study in
Threadneedle-Street,
Octob. 22, 1657.

Sam. Clark.

THE

THE
Spaniſh Invaſion.

A Commemoration of that wonderful, and almoſt miraculous Deliverance afforded by God to this Nation from the Spaniſh Invaſion, Anno Chriſti 1588.

THE year one thouſand five hundred eighty eight, was foretold by an Aſtronomer of *Koningſberg*, above one hundred years before, that it ſhould prove a *wonderful year*: and the *German* Chronologers preſaged, that it would be the *Climacterical* year of the World, which was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed in that glorious and never to be

be forgotten Deliverance vouchſafed by God to us in *England*, and in that fatal overthrow of the Spaniſh Navy; A true Narrative whereof followes.

But that we may the better ſee what induced the *Spaniard* to make this hoſtile Invaſion, we muſt be informed; both who were the inciters, and by what arguments, & artifices they ſtirred him up thereunto.

The Inciters were thē Pope, and ſome traiterous *Engliſh* Fugitives who were entertained in *Spain*, and at *Rome*. The deſign was, *The Conqueſt of England*; which had been hindred for the ſpace of ten years by reaſon of the *Spaniſh* Wars in *Portugal*. The Arguments were, that ſeeing God had bleſſed the King of *Spain* with admirable Bleſſings and Succeſſes; had given him in *Portugal*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, and very many rich Iſlands belonging to the ſame; that he ſhould therefore perform ſomewhat that might be acceptable to God (the giver of ſo great and good things) and moſt worthy the Power, and Majeſty of the Catholick King. That the Church of God could not be more gloriouſly, nor meritoriouſly propagated, than by the Conqueſt of *England*, extirpating Hereſie, and planting the Catholick Roman Religion there. This War (they ſaid

would

would be moſt juſt and neceſſary; conſidering that the Queen of *England* was excommunicated, and perſiſted contumacious againſt the Church of *Rome*. That ſhe ſupported the King of *Spains* Rebels in the *Netherlands*, annoyed the *Spaniards* with continual depredations; ſurpriſed, and ſacked his Towns in *Spain*, and *America*, and had very lately put the Queen of *Scots* to death, therein violating the Majeſty of all Kings.

Again, that this War would be no leſs profitable than juſt; For hereby he might add to his Empire other flouriſhing Kingdoms, extinguiſh the Rebellion in the *Low-Countries*, hitherto fomented and ſupported from *England*; ſecure his Voyages from both the *Indies*, and abate his vaſt expences in Convoying his *Indian* Fleets both forward and backward: For proof whereof (they ſuggeſted) that the *Engliſh* Navy was neither for number, nor greatneſs, nor ſtrength comparable to that of *Spain*; eſpecially having the *Portugal* Fleet now annexed unto it. That *England* was not fortified, and it wanted Commanders: Souldiers, a Cavalry, and Ammunition; was bare of Wealth, and Friends. That there were many in all parts of it addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion,

ligion, and would upon the firſt opportunity joyn their forces with his. In brief, that ſo great was the ſtrength of the *Spaniard*, and ſo unmatchable was their valour, that no man durſt oppoſe againſt them, and therefore they might confidently aſſure themſelves of victory. Moreover, that now an opportunity was afforded by God himſelf to the King of *Spain* to effectuate this great deſign, having no cauſe to fear any other Enemies, by reaſon of a Truce lately concluded by him with the Great *Turk*, and the *French* (his old Enemies) being now embroiled in Civil Wars at home. They perſwaded him likewiſe that *England* was an eaſier Conqueſt than the *Netherlands*: For that he had a ſhorter cut to it by Sea, and that an open Sea: neither was it ſo fortified with Cities, Caſtles, *&c.* as the *Netherlands* were: and that *England* being once Conquered, the *Netherlands* would ſoon follow of courſe, having loſt their beſt Supporter.

Theſe, and ſuch like arguments prevailing with the King of *Spain*, in the next place they held a ſerious Conſultation about the manner of Invading *England*: *Don Alvares Baſſano*, Marquiſs of *Santa Cruce*, who was to Command the *Armado*

mado, adviſed that ſome Port-Town in *Holland*, or *Zealand*, ſhould ſuddenly be ſurprized by the Prince of *Parma*'s Land Forces (who was then Governor of the *Netherlands* under the King of *Spain*) and by ſome *Spaniſh* Ships ſent to aſſiſt him by Sea, that ſo the great Fleet might have an Harbour from whence to begin their Invaſion: with whom agreed in opinion the Prince of *Parma* himſelf, who was very forward to promote this expedition. But others oppoſed this by reaſon of the difficulty, danger, expence of time, and vaſt charge that it would require. They held that with the ſame charge *England* might eaſier be won, and that the Conqueſt thereof would be aſſured, if a well-appointed Army out of *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries* might be landed at the *Thames* mouth, and *London* (the Metropolis of *England*) ſurpriſed by a ſudden Aſſault. And this opinion, as the more probable, prevailed. And then again it was adviſed by ſome, that War ſhould firſt be denounced by an Herald, both to remove ſuſpicion and jealouſie from neighbour Princes, and to drive our Queen to call in Foreign Forces to aſſiſt Her: hoping that according to the inſolent manner of mercenaries, they would raiſe mutinies, and ſpoil the Coun-

try,

try, which would make the Queens Subjects evil affected towards Her; ſo that all things would grow into confuſion in *England.* But this motion was not hearkened to by men grown fierce, inſolent, and confident of their own ſtrength, only they deſired the bleſſing of the Pope upon their *Armado*, and the Prayers of the Catholicks to God and the Saints for good ſucceſs. And to ſtrike the greater terror into the hearts of the *Engliſh*, They ſet forth Books with printed Maps, wherein was expreſſed the greatneſs of their Preparations in each particular, which indeed was ſo great in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves were amazed at it, and procured the Pope to Chriſten it by the name of the *Invincible Armado.*

Now that the wonderful power and mercy of God to us in this poor Nation, in protecting us againſt the ſame, may the more glorioufly appear, I ſhall in the next place ſet down what their preparations were for Ships, Mariners, Land-Souldiers, Ammunition, and other proviſions for the carrying on of ſo great an undertaking.

The *Spaniſh* Navy, being the beſt appointed for Men, Munition, and all ma-

ner of proviſion, that ever the Ocean ſaw, had been five years in preparing, conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships, whereof theſe were the principal.

The Admiral Gallion of Saint *Martins*, of a thouſand Tun burden, had in her one hundred ſeventy and ſeven Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty Canon, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Johns*, of one thouſand and ſeventy Tun, had in her one hundred and ſixty Mariners, two hundred and thirty one Souldiers, fifty Canon, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Mark* of ſeven hundred and ninety two Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, two hundred and ninety two Souldiers, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Phillip*, of eight hundred Tun, had in it one hundred and ſeventeen Mariners, four hundred and fifteen Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Lewis*, of eight hundred and thirty Tun, had in it one hundred and ſixteen Mariners, three hundred and ſeventy ſix Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Matthew*, of ſeven hundred and fifty Tun, had in it fifty Mariners, one hundred and ſeventy ſeven Souldiers, forty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *James*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in it one hundred

Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty two Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of *Florence*, of nine hundred and ſixty one Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, fifty two Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Chriſtopher*, of three hundred fifty and two Tun, had in it ninety Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

The Gallion of Saint *Bernard*, of three hundred fifty two Tun, had in it one hundred Mariners, two hundred and eighty Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

A Ship of Saint *Angelo*, of ſeven hundred ſixty and eight Tun, had in it one hundred and fourteen Mariners, three hundred and twenty three Souldiers, thirty Canons, *&c.*

The *Gangrine*, of one thouſand one hundred and ſixty Tun; had in it one hundred and ten Mariners, three hundred Souldiers, thirty ſix Canons, *&c.*

The Ship Saint *James*, of ſix hundred and ſixty Tun, had in her one hundred and two Mariners, two hundred and fifty Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

The *Manuel*, of five hundred and twenty Tun, had in her fifty four Mariners, one hundred and thirty Souldiers, ſixteen Guns, *&c.*

The Saint *Mary*, of ſeven hundred and 7 Tun, had in her fifty Mariners, two hundred and twenty Souldiers, thirty Guns, *&c.*

But I need not reckon up the reſt. They had in all one hundred and thirty Ships, containing Fifty ſeven thouſand, eight hundred and eight Tun; wherein were Eight hundred and forty five Mariners, Nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety five Souldiers, and two thouſand and eighty eight Gally-ſlaves. And ſo confident were the *Spaniards* that *England* ſhould pay the ſhot, that they ſpared no coſt for furniſhing it forth with all things neceſſary. For which end they provided of Bullets for great ſhot two hundred and twenty thouſand. Of Powder four thouſand and two hundred Kintals, every Kintal containing a hundred pound weight: of Lead for Bullets a thouſand Kintals: of Match a thouſand and two hundred Kintals: Muſquets ſeven thouſand: of Partiſans and Halberts ten thouſand: with ſtore of Murthering pieces, double Canon, and Field pieces for the Camp: they had alſo ſtore of Furniture for Carriages, Mules and Horſes; ſo that they were ſufficiently provided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Biſket ready baked, and Wine laid aboard for ſix months proviſion. They had moreover ſix thouſand & five hundred

Kintals of Bacon; three thouſand of Cheeſe, beſides other Fleſh, Riſe, Beans, Peaſe, Oil, and Vinegar, with twelve thouſand Pipes of freſh Water. They had alſo ſtore of Torches, Lamps, and Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, and Lead to ſtop Leaks: Whips and Butcherly Knives to murder and torment the poor *Engliſh*. In a word, the Army was thirty two thouſand ſtrong, and coſt the King of *Spain* thirty two thouſand Ducats every day.

In this Army were five Regiments of old *Spaniſh* Souldiers of the Tertio's of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Tercera's*, Commanded by five Maſters *Del-Campo*: The firſt was Don *Diego de Piementel*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *John*, and Brother to the Marqueſs of *Taveras*: The ſecond Colonel was Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, Brother to the Earl of *Orgas*: The third Don *Alonzo de Luzon*: The fourth Don *Nicholas de Illa*: The fifth was *Auguſtin Mexia*; each Colonel having in his Regiment thirty two Companies, Beſides the *Caſtilian*, and *Portugal* Bands, each of them having their peculiar Commanders and Weapons.

The General of this mighty Army (the Marqueſs of *Sancta Cruce* being now dead) was Don *Lodovicus Peres*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*.

Fleece. The Admiral was Don *John Martinez de Richald:* The Marſhal Don *Franciſco Bovadille:* Others were chief Counſellors for the War, and Don *Martin Alarcon* was Vicar General for the holy unholy Inquiſition, in whoſe train were a hundred Monks and Jeſuites: and Cardinal *Allen* was appointed the Superintendent of Eccleſiaſtical matters throughout *England*, who fearing to be unprovided, tranſlated Pope *Sixtus* his Bull into *Engliſh*, that it might be the ſooner publiſhed upon the arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in this our Nation. Of voluntary Adventurers, there were a hundred and twenty four Noblemen, and Gentlemen of all the greateſt Houſes in *Spain*, hoping to be well paid with the Lands and Riches of *England*.

The Prince of *Parma* alſo in the *Netherlands*, by the King of *Spains* Command, built Ships, and very many flat bottomed Boats, each of them big enough to carry thirty Horſe, with Bridges fitted to them to Ship and unſhip the Horſes: He hired Mariners from *Eaſt-Germany*, ſet many thouſands on work to dig and deepen Rivers from *Antwerp* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*: lading three hundred ſmall Boats with Munition and Victuals. Two hundred more flat-bottom'd Boats were made, though

not ſo big as the former, which lay ready in the Haven of *Newport*, beſides thirty ſeven Ships of War at *Dunkirk*: He prepared Piles ſharpened at the nether ends, headed with Iron, and hooked on the ſides to pile up the mouths of Rivers: At *Graveling* he provided twenty thouſand empty Casks with Cords, and other furniture to make floating Bridges to ſtop up the Havens, beſide an infinite number of Fagots: He ſhipped likewiſe a great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with other furniture for Horſe, and Horſes alſo for Carriages, with Ordnance and other proviſions for War.

Near unto *Newport* he had lying under the command of *Camillo* thirty Companies of *Italians*, two of *Walloons*, and eight of *Burguignons*, every Company containing a hundred men: At *Dyxmew* he muſtered eighty Companies of *Netherlanders*, ſixty of *Spaniards*, ſixty of *High Dutch*, among which were ſeven hundred Fugitive *Engliſh* under the Command of Sir *William Stanley*, who of all others were held in greateſt contempt: neither was *Stanley*, nor the Earl of *Weſtmoorland*, nor others which offered their ſervice and counſel once heard, but for their treachery to their Country barred from all acceſs, and as moſt unfortunate

con-

conductors, worthily with deteſtation rejected. At *Conick* alſo he quartered other four thouſand, and at *Watene* nine hundred Horſe, Commanded by the Marqueſs of *Guaſt*. And to this Land-ſervice came the Duke of *Paſtrana*, ſuppoſed to be the King of *Spains* baſe Son: the Marqueſs of *Buorgon*, one of the Duke *Ferdinands* Sons: Don *Veſpaſian Gonſago* of the Houſe of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had been Viceroy of *Spain*: Don *John de Medices*, Baſtard of *Florence*: Don *Amadeus*, Baſtard of *Savoy*, with many others of the like quality.

Neither was *Sixtus Quintus*, Pope of *Rome*, any ways backward to ſhew his diligence, and devotion to this intended Invaſion; but ſent abroad his *Cruſado* (as he uſed to do againſt the *Turks* and *Infidels*) wherein out of the treaſure of the Church he gave plenary Indulgences, and pardon of all their ſins to every one that contributed his aſſiſtance hereunto: and for the furtherance of this enterpriſe, himſelf undertook to contribute a million of Gold, the one half preſently down, the other half when any notable Haven in our land ſhould be won: yet with this *Proviſo*, that the Crown of *England* ſhould be held as Feudatory to the See of *Rome*: in earneſt whereof he beſtowed upon the King of *Spain* his A-

poſtolical Benediction, and the Title of *Defender of the Faith:* He ſent alſo Cardinal *Allen* into the *Low-Countries*, and renewed the Bulls of *Pius* the fifth and *Gregory* the thirteenth, whereby Queen *Elizabeth* was excommunicated, depoſed from her Throne, and her Subjects abſolved from all allegiance to her.

Thus we ſee what preparations were made both at Sea and Land, at *Rome*, in *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*, for the ſubduing of *England*, extirpating the Goſpel, and ſubjugating us under the yoke of *Spain:* now let us ſee what proviſion and preparations our Queen made to diſpel this black Cloud that hung over our head: And truly the firſt thing that ſhe did was moſt Chriſtian; For as when *Jehoſophat* was threatned with the like danger, 2 *Chro.* 20. 3. He ſought the Lord and proclaimed a Faſt; ſo did She, requiring all her Subjects to humble themſelves by Faſting and Prayer, knowing that theſe are the beſt Weapons of the Church, that they by them might ſeek unto the Lord, and ſay in the words of *Jehoſophat*, *O Lord God, art not thou God in Heaven? and ruleſt not thou over all the Kingdoms of the Earth? and in thine hand is there not power and might, ſo that none is able to withſtand thee? O our God, wilt thou not*

judge

judge them? For we have no might againſt this great company that cometh againſt us, neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee. But in the ſecond place, knowing that Prayers without endeavours and means are like *Rachel, beautiful but barren*, that She might not be taken unprovided, She prepared with all diligence as ſtrong a Fleet as She could, and all things neceſſary for War; and She that in diſcerning mens parts and abilities was of a moſt ſharp judgment, and ever moſt happy, having the free choice in her ſelf, and not by the commendations of others, aſſigned to every office by name the beſt and fitteſt men.

The charge of her Navy She committed to *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, of whoſe skill She had had former experience, and whom She knew both by his Moderation and Nobility, to be wary in providence, valiant, induſtrious, and of great authority among the Seamen, and well beloved of them: Her Vice-Admiral She made the famous Sir *Francis Drake*, and theſe She ſent to the Weſt parts of *England*; and for the Guard of the narrow Seas, She appointed *Henry* Lord *Seimore* ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, whom She commanded alſo to lie upon the Coaſts of the *Low-Countries*, with forty Ships,

Ships, to watch that the Prince of *Parma* might not come forth with his Forces: By Land She commanded the General Forces of the Realm to be muſtered, trained, and put in readineſs in their ſpecial Shires, for the defence of the whole, which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter* was appointed Lieutenant; twenty thouſand whereof were diſpoſed along our South-Coaſt for the guard thereof: beſides which, She had two Armies; one of which conſiſting of a thouſand Horſe, and twenty two thouſand Foot, was encamped at *Tilbury* near the *Thames* mouth, whither the Enemy fully intended to come: The other which was led by the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſted of thirty four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, which were to be the Guard of the Queens perſon: Her ſelf in courage far ſurmounting her Sex, as another *Zenobia* or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoſt againſt this great *Siſera*, and her Souldiers valiant and skilful, both for courage and quick diſpatch, might well be compared to thoſe *Gadites* that came to aid *David*, whoſe faces were like the faces of Lions, and were compared to the Roes in the Mountains for ſwiftneſs.

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*,

Sir

Sir *John Knorris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, all gallant men, and brave Souldiers, were appointed to conſult about managing the Land Service: Theſe adviſed that all the commodious landing places for the Enemy, as well from *Spain*, as from the *Low-Countries* ſhould be manned and fortified, as *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimmouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the open Coaſt of *Kent*, commonly called the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. and that the Trained Bands throughout the Coaſt Shires, ſhould meet upon a ſignal given to defend the ſaid places, and do their beſt to prohibit the Enemies landing. But in caſe he ſhould land, that then they ſhould leave all the Country round about waſt, that ſo they might find nothing for food, but what from their Ships they ſhould carry upon their ſhoulders, and that they ſhould hold the Enemies buſied both night and day with continual Alarms, but not to hazard a Battel till more Commanders with their Companies were come together.

Some ſuggeſted alſo to the Queen, that the *Spaniards* abroad were not ſo much to be feared as the Papiſts at home; for that the *Spaniards* would not attempt the Invaſion of *England*, but upon confidence of aid from

from them: She thereupon committed ſome of them to Priſon at *Wisbeach* in the Fenns; by her Letters alſo She directed Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, what he ſhould do.

The King of *Scots* She put in mind to beware of the Papiſts and Spaniſh Factions: By her frequent Letters She wrote to the States of the *United Provinces* not to be deficient in aſſiſting her what they could.

But amongſt theſe preparations for War on both ſides, *Philip* King of *Spain*, to caſt a miſt over her Majeſties eyes, and to rock her into a ſleep of ſecurity, importuned by all means the Realms unto peace, imploying the Prince of *Parma* to be his inſtrument therein, who dealt earneſtly by Letters with the help of Sir *James Crofts*, a privy Counſellor, and a man much addicted to peace, as alſo by *Andrew Van Loey*, a *Netherlander*, that a Treaty of Peace might be entred upon, affirming that he had Warrant thereunto from the King of *Spain*. Our Queen meaſuring other Princes by her own guileleſs heart, gave ear to this deceitful lullaby, little ſuſpecting that a deadly Snake could be hid in ſo fair a Garden; yet reſolved to treat of Peace with her Sword in her hand, neither was the Prince of *Parma* againſt her ſo doing.

In

In the month therefore of *February* Commiſſioners were ſent into *Flanders*, *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, *William Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Valentine Dale*, and *John Rogers* Doctors of the Law, who arriving there, were received in the Prince of *Parma*'s name with all courteſy; who thereupon ſent away *Dale* preſently to him to know where the place of meeting ſhould be, and to ſee his Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*: the place he appointed to be near *Oſtend*, the Town it ſelf being then in the *Engliſh* hands; and as for his Commiſſion, he promiſed it ſhould be produced at their meeting: Only he wiſhed them to haſten the matter, leſt any thing ſhould happen in the interim to interrupt the Treaty; and one *Richardot*, which ſtood by him, ſaid more openly, *That he knew not what in the mean time might be done againſt* England. Which being reported to the Queen, She ſent *Rogers* to the Prince to know whether there was any deſign for the Invading of *England*, as he, and *Richardot* by their words ſeemed to imply: The Prince anſwered that he had never any thought for the Invading *England*, when he wiſhed the Treaty to be haſtened, and was angry with *Richardot*, who denied that any ſuch words had fallen from him.

Com-

Commiſſioners for the King of *Spain* were *Maximilian* Earl of *Aremberg*, Governor of *Antwerp*, *Richardot* Preſident of *Artois*, with ſome other Civilians.

Theſe ſtayed at *Bruges*, and for all their pretended haſte, much time was cunningly ſpun out about the place of their meeting, which ſhould have the Precedency, and what hoſtages ſhould be given for ſecurity of the Commiſſioners: yet at length the *Spaniards* yielded to the *Engliſh* Precedency, both in going and ſitting: and the place was in Tents near unto *Oſtend*.

The demands for the Queen were, that there might be a ſurceaſe of Arms, with a preſent and undelayed Truce, She miſtruſting the *Spaniſh* preparations at Sea: The ſending away of foreign Souldiers out of the *Low-Countries* for *Englands* ſecurity: A reſtitution of ſuch ſums of money as the Queen had lent to the States, and which the King had promiſed to reſtore: That the *Netherlanders* might enjoy their ancient liberties, and priviledges, nor be governed by a ſtranger, but by a Native Prince: That they might have liberty to ſerve God with Freedom of Conſcience: And laſtly, that the Articles of the Pacification of *Gaunt*, and other like treaties might be obſerved: which things if they were granted,

would condeſcend upon reaſonable conditions to deliver up the Towns in the *Netherlands*, which She then had in poſſeſſion, that it might appear that ſhe had not for her own advantage, but for the neceſſary defence of the *Netherlands*, and her ſelf taken up arms.

To theſe the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparations at Sea, they did aſſure them that it nothing concerned *England*. That to ſend away the Souldiers, the King could not reſolve till the *Netherlanders* had ſubmitted themſelves to him. Concerning their priviledges, that it appertained nothing to the Queen, neither ſhould She preſcribe to the King a Law. And ſo far was he from tolerating Religion, that he would not ſo much as hear thereof, otherwiſe than he had allowed to other Towns that had ſubmitted to his obedience. And as for thoſe Towns which had been taken from the King, and the mony expended about them, They ſaid that the *Spaniard* might demand as many Myriades of Ducats to be repayed to him by the Queen, as he had expended upon the *Low-Country* War, from the time that She ſupported the revolting *Netherlanders*, and took them into her Protection.

About this time went *Dale* by the Queens command to the Prince of *Par-*

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and mildly expoſtulated with him about a Book lately publiſhed by Cardinal *Allen*, that *Engliſh Renegado*, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and People of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn with the *Spaniſh* Forces, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, to execute the Popes ſentence already publiſhed by his *Bull* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein ſhe was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, cruel, for putting to death the Queen of *Scots*, *&c.* And her Subjects abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and commanded to aid the Prince of *Parma* againſt Her. (And indeed there was a great number of theſe *Bulls* and Books printed at *Antwerp*, from thence to be diſperſed all over *England*.)

The Prince denied that he had ever ſeen any ſuch Book, or *Bull*, neither would he undertake any thing in the Popes name; howbeit that he muſt obey his Prince. But for the Queen of *England*, he proteſted that he did ſo honour her for her Vertues, that next to the King his Maſter, he eſteemed Her above all others, and would be ready to do Her ſervice. For the manifeſtation whereof he ſaid that he had perſwaded the King to condeſcend to this treaty of peace, which would be more advantagious for the *Engliſh* than for the

niards: For (ſaid he) *if the* Spaniards *be overcome they will ſoon recover their loſs; but if You be overcome, your Kingdom, and all is loſt:* To which *Dale* made this reply: *Our Queen is provided with ſtrength ſufficient to defend her Kingdom, and you your ſelf in your wiſdom may foreſee that a Kingdom cannot be loſt with the fortune of one Battel; ſeeing the King of* Spain *after ſo long Wars, is not able to recover his ancient inheritance in the* Netherlands. Be it ſo(ſaid the Prince) Theſe things are in the hands of the Almighty.

After this the Commiſſioners contended with mutual debates, and replies, ſtill twiſting and untwiſting the ſame thread. For when the *Engliſh* preſſed that a Toleration of Religion might be granted for the *United Provinces*, at leaſt for two years; It was anſwered, That as the *Spaniard* demanded not this for the *Engliſh* Catholicks; ſo they hoped the Queen in her Wiſdom would require nothing of him which might be againſt the Honour, Oath, and Conſcience of the *Spaniard*. When they demanded the mony due from the States of *Brabant* to our Queen; They anſwered, that it was lent without the Kings Knowledge or Warrant; and that the accounts being caſt up, how much the ſaid mony was, and how

much the King had disburſed about the War, it would ſoon be known to whom the moſt ought to be repayed. With ſuch anſwers as theſe they dallied with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, till the *Spaniſh* Fleet was come within the view of *England*, and the thundring of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea, which put the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners into ſome ſuſpicion and fear, having no hoſtages for their ſafe return. But they received a ſafe conduct from the Prince of *Parma* (who had in the mean time drawn down all his Forces to the Sea-Coaſt) and ſo were conducted to the borders near *Calice*. Thus came this Treaty to nothing, undertaken by our Queen (as was conceived) to divert the coming of the *Spaniſh* Fleet: and continued by the *Spaniard* to ſurprize *England* unprovided, and at unawares. So both ſides put the Foxes skin upon the Lions head.

And now we are come to ſpeak of this *Invincible Armado*, which was the preparation of five whole years at leaſt. It bare it ſelf alſo upon Divine aſſiſtance, having received a ſpecial Bleſſing from the Pope, and was aſſigned as an *Apoſtolical Miſſion* for the reducement of this Kingdom to the obedience of the See of *Rome*: and in further token of this holy Warfare, there were [illegible]

amongſt the reſt of the Ships, *twelve*, called by the names of the *twelve Apoſtles*. The Gallions and Galliaſſes were of ſuch a vaſt ſize, that they were like floating Towers and Caſtles, ſo that the ſwelling waves of the Sea could hardly be ſeen; and the Flags, Streamers, and Enſigns ſo ſpread in the wind, that they ſeemed even to darken the Sun, and to threaten deſtruction which way ſoever they turned.

On the nine and twentieth day of *May* this Fleet ſet Sail out of the River *Tayo*, bending its courſe towards the *Groin* in *Galizia*, the place appointed for the general Rendezvous, as being the neareſt Haven unto *England:* But whileſt they hoyſed and ſpread abroad their proud Sailes to the wind; God, who is an Enemy to ſuch *Nimrod-like* undertakings, and hating ſuch hoſtile actions, ſuddenly manifeſted his diſpleaſure, and poured out revenge by a ſudden and hideous tempeſt, which drave the Duke of *Medina*, the General, back again into the *Groin*; eight other of the Ships being diſperſed on the Seas, had their Masts broken, and blown over board; beſides three other *Portugal* Gallies which were driven upon the Coaſts of *Bayon* in *France*, where, by the valour of one *David Gwin*, an *Engliſh* ſlave, and the help of [illegible]

ſlaves, *French*, and *Turks*, they were delivered into the hands of the *French*, and they freed themſelves by the ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, amongſt whom *Don Diego de Mondrana* was one.

About the ſame time the *Engliſh* Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, who had in all about one hundred Ships, whereof fifteen were Victuallers, and nine Voluntaries of *Devonſhire* Gentlemen, hearing for certainty that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ready to hoiſe up their Sails, reſolved to put forth from *Plymouth*, and to meet, and fight them by the way; but were ſo met with by the ſame wind, that they could not get paſt the *Syllies*, and thence alſo were forced by the Tempeſt to return into their former Harbour, to refreſh their Ships, and Companies; only ſome of their Scouts at Sea deſcried ſome of the *Spaniſh* Ships, which likewiſe had been diſperſed with the ſtorm: but before the *Engliſh* could come near them, the wind veering about, carryed them back to the *Groine*, where the reſt of their Fleet lay in Harbour.

Intelligence being brought that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great Ships diſperſed, and the reſt ſorely ſhaken with the ſtorm, and their men dying by multitudes of the Peſtilence; the Lord Admiral

ard intended with the firſt Northerly wind to take advantage, which coming about upon the eighth of *July*, he lanched forth, and bore his Sails almoſt within the ſight of *Spain*, purpoſing to ſurpriſe their weather-beaten Ships, and to fight them upon their own Coaſt. But then the wind ſuddenly changing into the South, and he wiſely foreſeeing that the Enemy might paſs by without his diſcovery, that the Seas might be ſtormy, or his Fleet wind-bound, and that whilſt he thus lay abroad, his ſervice might be more neceſſary at home, and that his work was to defend the Coaſts of *England*, he therefore preſently returned and Anchored his Fleet in the Haven at *Plimouth*, ſuffering his men to refreſh themſelves upon the Land.

At the ſame time there came more confident advertiſement (though falſe) not only to the Lord Admiral, but to the Court, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet could not poſſibly come forth again that year, upon which reports (a dangerous matter in State affairs) ſo confident was our Queen, that She ſent for four of her biggeſt Royal Ships to be brought back to *Chattam*: But the Lord Admiral ſuſpecting the worſt, by a mild and moderate anſwer retarded it, deſiring that nothing might be lightly believed in ſo

weighty a matter, and that he might retain them though at his own charge. Wherein indeed a ſpecial providence of God did appear, for juſt at that time news was brought to the Lord Admiral by one Captain *Thomas Flemming*, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was entred into the *Britiſh* Seas, commonly called the *Channel*, and was ſeen near unto the *Lizard-point*, which came thus to paſs.

The *Spaniſh* Ships being new rigged, and their wants ſupplyed, their King ſtill hot on his former reſolutions, inſtantly urged and haſtened his Commanders to put forth again to Sea, which accordingly they did upon the eleventh of *July* with the ſame South wind which (as was ſaid before) brought back our Navy into *Plimouth*, and ſo having a more favourable Gale, with brave ſhews, and full Sails, they entred our Channel, where caſting Anchor, they diſpatched certain ſmall Pinnaces to the Prince of *Parma*, to ſignifie their arrival and readineſs, and to command him in the name of their King to forward his charge for that ſervice.

July the twentieth about noon, this terrible Fleet was deſcried by the *Engliſh*, coming forward amain with a South-weſt wind. It was a kind of ſurpriſe: For that (as was ſaid) many of our men were gone

to land, and our Ships ready to depart: Nevertheleſs our undaunted Admiral towed forth ſuch Ships as he could get in readineſs into the deep Sea, not without great difficulty, certainly with ſingular diligence, and admirable alacrity of our Mariners, cheered up with the Admirals own preſence and aſſiſtance among them at their halſer-work, the wind blowing ſtrongly into the Haven.

When they were forth they ſaw the *Spaniſh* Ships with lofty Towers like Caſtles, in front like an half-moon, the horns whereof ſtretched forth in breadth about ſeven miles, ſayling (as it were) with labour to the winds, the Ocean groaning under them; ſo that though with full ſails, yet they came but ſlowly forward. They ſeemed as it were to make for *Plymouth*; but whether their Commiſſion was otherwiſe, or becauſe contrary to their expectation, they ſaw the *Engliſh* Ships out of the Harbour, they ſteered by towards *Calice*, hoping to meet with the Prince of *Parma*: the *Engliſh* willingly ſuffered them to paſs by, that they might the more commodiouſly chaſe them in the Rear with a fore-right wind.

July the twenty firſt, the Lord Admiral of *England* ſent before him a Pinnace called the *Defiance*, to denounce War by diſchar-

ging her Ordnance, himſelf following in the *Ark-Royal*, ſet upon the Admiral (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, but it proved to be *Alonzo de Leva*'s Ship, where fire, ſmoke, and loud thundring Cannons began the parley; and rending Bullets moſt freely enterchanged betwixt them, were fiery Meſſengers of each others minds. Soon after came up *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbuſher*, playing with their Ordnance upon the hindmoſt Squadron of the Enemies, which was commanded by *Rechalde*, who laboured all he could to ſtay his Men from flying for ſhelter to the Fleet, till his own Ship being much battered with ſhot, and now grown unſerviceable, was with much difficulty drawn into the main Fleet. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his whole Fleet, ſcattered here and there by the *Engliſh*, and hoiſing more Sail, kept on his intended courſe toward *Callice*; neither indeed could he do otherwiſe, the wind favouring the *Engliſh*, and himſelf finding the inconvenience of their great and high built Ships, powerful to defend, but not to offend; to ſtand, but not to move; whereas on the contrary their enemies were nimble, and ready on all ſides to annoy them, and as apt to eſcape harms themſelves, being low built and ſo eaſily ſhot over. Here-

upon he cauſed them to gather themſelves up cloſe in the form of an half-moon, and to ſlacken their Sails that their whole Fleet might keep together. But our *Engliſh* Admiral having maintained an hot fight for the ſpace of two hours, thought not good to continue it any longer, thirty of his Ships ſcarce coming to the work, the reſt being as yet ſcarce gotten out of the Harbour.

In this firſt days fight the Saint *Katherine*, a *Spaniſh* Ship, having been ſorely battered and much torn, was taken into the middeſt of their Fleet to be repaired: And an huge Ship of *Biſcaie* of Don *Oquendoes*, in which was a great part of the Kings treaſure, began to be all in a Flame by force of Gunpowder, which was fired on purpoſe by a *Flemiſh* Gunner, for being miſuſed by them: But the fire was ſoon quenched by the aſſiſtance of ſome other Ships ſent in to her help. All this while the *Spaniards* for want of Courage (which they called Commiſſion) did what they could to decline the Fight, caſting themſelves continually into Roundels (their ſtrongeſt Ships walling in the reſt) in which poſture they made a flying march towards *Callice*: yet in the former medly a great Gallion, wherein was Don *Pedro de Valdez*, *Vaſques de Silva*, *Alonzo de Saias*, with other Noble men, being

being ſore battered with the *Engliſh* ſhot, in avoyding whereof ſhe fell foul upon another Ship, and ere ſhe could be cleared had her Fore-maſt broken off, which ſo hindred her Sailing, that ſhe was unable to keep way with the reſt of the Fleet, nor were their friends of courage to ſuccour theſe diſtreſſed Lords, but left both Ship and them in this ſudden and unexpected danger. But the night coming on, our Lord Admiral ſuppoſing that they had left neither men nor Mariners aboard within her, and fearing to loſe ſight of the *Spaniards*, paſt by her, and followed the Lanthorn which he ſuppoſed to be carried by Sir *Francis Drake*, as it was appointed, but that braveKnight was eagerly purſuing five great Hulks which he took to be of the *Spaniards*, but when he came up, and haled them, they proved *Eaſterlings* and friends, and ſo were diſmiſſed: yet by this miſtake of his, the greateſt part of our Fleet, wanting the direction of his light, was forced to lye ſtill: ſo that he and the reſt of the Fleet till towards night, the next day, could not recover ſight of the Lord Admiral, who all the night before with two other Ships, the *Bear* and the *Mary-Roſe* followed the Spaniſh Lanthorn.

July the twenty ſecond; Sir *Francis*

Drake

Drake eſpied the aforementioned lagging Gallion, whereupon he ſent forth a Pinnace to command them to yield, otherwiſe his bullets without any delay ſhould force them to it: *Valdes*, to ſeem valorous, anſwered, that they were four hundred and fifty ſtrong; that himſelf was Don *Pedro*, and ſtood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions: But the Knight returned this reply, that he had no leiſure to parley, if he would immediately yield, ſo; otherwiſe he ſhould ſoon prove that *Drake* was no Daſtard. *Pedro* hearing that it was the fiery *Drake* (whoſe name was very terrible to the *Spaniards*) that had him in chaſe, preſently yielded, and with forty of his Companions, came on board Sir *Francis* his Ship, where firſt giving him the *Conge*, he proteſted that he and all his were reſolved to have dyed fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, whoſe valour and felicity was ſo great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* ſeemed to wait on him in all his attempts, and whoſe noble and generous mind towards the vanquiſhed, had often been experienced even of his greateſt Foes. Sir *Francis* to requite his *Spaniſh* Complements with *Engliſh* Courteſie, placed him at his own Table, and lodged him in his own Cabin; the reſidue of that Com-

pany

pany he ſent to *Plimouth*, where they remained Priſoners for the ſpace of eighteen months, till by payment of their ranſoms they obtained their liberty: But *Drakes* Souldiers had well paid themſelves by the plunder of the Ship, wherein they found 55000 Ducats of Gold, which they merrily ſhared amongſt them. The ſame day *Michael de Oquendo*, Admiral of the Squadron *Guypuſco*, and Vice-Admiral of the whole Fleet, ſuffered no leſs a diſaſter; whoſe Ship being one of the greateſt Gallions, fell on fire, and all the upper part of the Ship being burnt, moſt alſo of the perſons therein were conſumed: howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold not taking fire, the Ship fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, which, together with the ſcorched *Spaniards* therein, was brought into *Plimouth*, a joyful ſpectacle to the beholders. All this day, the Duke of *Medina* laboured ſecurely to ſet his Fleet in order; To *Alphonſo de Leva* he gave in charge to joyne the firſt and laſt Squadron together; To every Ship he aſſigned his quarter to ride in according to the form preſcribed in *Spain*, commanding them upon pain of death not to deſert their ſtations. *Glitch*, an Enſign-bearer, he ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to acquaint him with his condition.

July the twenty third, early in the morning the *Spaniards* taking the benefit of a Northerly wind, when they approached right againſt *Portland*, turned about againſt the *Engliſh*; but the *Engliſh*, nimble, and foreſeeing all advantages, ſoon turned aſide to the Weſtward, each ſtriving to get the wind of the other, which at laſt the *Engliſh* got, and ſo they prepared themſelves on each ſide to Fight; and the *Engliſh* continued all day from morning till night to batter thoſe wooden Caſtles with great and ſmall ſhot: The fight was very confuſed and variable, whilſt on the one ſide the *Engliſh* bravely reſcued the *London* Ships that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*, and on the other ſide the *Spaniards* as ſtoutly delivered *Rechalde* being in danger: Never was there heard greater thundring of Ordnance on both ſides, the chiefeſt fight being performed on this day; yet notwithſtanding the ſhot from the *Spaniſh* Ships for the moſt part flew over the *Engliſh* without hurting them, only *Cock* an *Engliſh man* dyed with honour in the midſt of his Enemies in a little Ship of his. The *Engliſh* Ships being far the leſſer, charged that *Sea-Gyant* with marvellous agility, and having given them their broad ſides, flew off again preſently, and then coming up, levelled their ſhot directly

rectly without miſſing thoſe heavy and unweildy Ships of the *Spaniards*. But the Lord Admiral would not hazard a fight by grappling with them, as ſome unadviſed perſons would have perſwaded him: For he conſidered that the Enemy had a ſtrong Army in the Fleet, whereas he had none; that their Ships were more in number, of bigger burden, ſtronger, and huger built, ſo that they could not be boarded but with extreme diſadvantage: He foreſaw alſo that the overthrow would turn to a greater dammage than the victory would avail him: For being vanquiſhed he ſhould have brought *England* into extreme hazzard, and being Conquerour he ſhould only have gained a little glory to himſelf for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the Enemy. On this day the foreſt fight was performed, wherein, beſides other remarkable harms which the Enemy ſuſtained, a great *Venetian* Ship with ſome other ſmaller were ſurprized, and taken by the *Engliſh*, and the *Spaniards* were forced for their further ſafety to gather themſelves cloſe into a Roundel, their beſt and greateſt Ships ſtanding without, that they might ſecure thoſe that were battered and leſs.

July the twenty fourth, the Fight was only between the four great Galliaſſes, and

and ſome of the *Engliſh* Ships, the *Spaniards* having great advantage, theirs being rowed with Oars, and ours (by reaſon of the calm) having no uſe of their Sails, notwithſtanding which they ſorely galled the Enemy with their great and Chain ſhot, wherewith they cut in ſunder their tacklings, Cables, and Cordage, to their no little prejudice. But wanting Powder which they had ſpent ſo freely, and other proviſion to maintain the fight, the Lord Admiral ſent ſome of his ſmaller Ships to the next Ports of *England* to fetch ſupply; which ſtirred up jealouſies in the heads of many, that we ſhould thus want upon our own Coaſts. In which *Interim* a Council was called, wherein it was reſolved that the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould be divided into four Squadrons, and thoſe committed to four brave Captains, and skilful Seamen, whereof the Lord Admiral in the *Ark Royal* was chief: Sir *Francis Drake* in the *Revenge* led the ſecond: Captain *Hawkins* the third: and Captain *Forbuſher* the fourth. Other moſt valiant Captains there were in others of Her Majeſties Ships, as the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Lion*, the Lord *Sheffield* in the *Bear*, Sir *Robert Southwel* in the *Elizabeth*, Captain *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captain *George Fenner* in the *Gallion-Leiceſter*:

ceſter: It was alſo further appointed, that out of every Squadron certain ſmall Veſſels ſhould give you a charge from divers parts in the dead time of the night, but the calm continuing, this deſign could not be effected.

July the twenty fifth, being Saint *James* day, the *Spaniards* were arrived againſt the Iſle of *Wight*, where was a moſt terrible encounter, each ſhooting off their whole broad ſides, and not above ſixſcore yards the one from the other: There the Saint *Anne*, a Gallion of *Portugal*, which could not hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by certain ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſels, to whoſe reſcue came *Leva* and *Don Diego Telles Enriques* with three Galliaſſes: which the Lord Admiral himſelf and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, rowing their Ships with their Boats (ſo great was the calm) charged in ſuch ſort with their roaring Canons, that they had much ado, and that not without loſs, to ſave the Gallion, from which time forward none of the Galliaſſes would undertake the fight. The *Spaniards* reported that the *Engliſh* the ſame day beat the *Spaniſh* Admiral in the utter Squadron, rending her ſore with the Great Ordnance, and having ſlain many of her men, ſhot down her main Maſt, and

would have much endanger'd her, but that *Mexia* and *Rechalde* came in good time to her reſcue. That the *Spaniſh* Admiral, aſſiſted by *Rechalde* and others, ſet upon the *Engliſh* Admiral, which happily eſcaped by the ſudden turning of the wind. That thereupon the *Spaniards* gave over the purſuit, and holding on their Courſe, diſpatched again a Meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma*, to joyn his Fleet with all ſpeed to the Kings *Armado*, and withal to ſend them a ſupply of great ſhot. But theſe things were unknown to the *Engliſh*, who wrote that from one of the *Spaniſh* Ships they had ſhot down their Lanthorn, and from another the Beak-head, and that they had done much hurt to the third; that the *Non-parella* and the *Mary Roſe*, had fought a while with the *Spaniards*; and that other Ships had reſcued the *Triumph*, which was in danger. The truth is, they had ſo ſorely battered thoſe huge wooden Caſtles, that once more they forced them for their further ſafety to gather themſelves into a Roundel.

July the twenty ſixth, the Lord Admiral, to encourage and reward the Noble Attempts of his gallant Captains, beſtowed the Order of Knighthood upon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John*

John Hawkings, *Martin Forbuſher*, and others: And yet the vain glorious and boaſting *Spaniards* cauſed a report to be ſpread in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by them. It was reſolved by our men that from thenceforth they ſhould aſſail the Enemy no more till they came to the *Britiſh Frith*, or ſtrait of *Callis*, where the Lord *Henry Seimore* and Sir *William Winter*, with the Ships which they had for the guard of the narrow Seas, waited their coming; and ſo with a fair gale from the South-Weſt and by South, the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſailed forward, the *Engliſh* Fleet following it cloſe at the heels. And ſo far was it from terrifying our *Engliſh* Coaſts with the name of *Invincible*, or with its huge and terrible ſpectacle, that our brave *Engliſh* youth with an incredible alacrity, leaveing Parents, Wives, Children, Kinsfolk, and Friends, out of their entire love to their native Country, hired Ships from all parts at their own proper charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers, amongſt whom were the Earl of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*: *Henry Brook*: *Charles Blunt*: *Walter Raleigh*: *William Hatton*: *Robert Carey*: *Ambroſe Willoughby*: *Thomas Gerard*;

Yard; *Arthur Gorges*, and many others of great note.

July the twenty ſeventh, the *Spaniſh* Fleet making forward, towards Evening, came over againſt *Dover*, and Anchored before *Callis*, intending for *Dunkirk*, there to joyn with the Prince of *Parma*'s Forces; wel perceiving that without their aſſiſtance they could do nothing: They were alſo warned by the Pilots, that if they proceeded any farther it was to be feared leſt they ſhould be driven by the force of the Tide into the Northern Ocean. The *Engliſh* Fleet following up hard upon them, caſt Anchor ſo near that they lay within Culvering ſhot; at which time the Lord *Henry Seimore*, and *Winter* joyned their Ships to them, ſo that now the *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty Sail, all able Ships to fight, Sail, and turn about which way ſoever they pleaſed. Yet were they not above fifteen that ſuſtained the greateſt burden of the fight. From hence once more the Duke of *Medina* ſent to the Prince of *Parma* to haſten forth his long expected, and much deſired Forces: with which Meſſengers many of the *Spaniſh* Noblemen went to Land, having had enough of the Sea; amongſt whom was the Prince of

Aſcoli, the Kings baſe Son, who returned to his Ship no more; and indeed well it was for him, for that his Gallion was afterwards caſt away upon the *Iriſh* Coaſt, and never returned to ſalute *Spain*. Theſe Meſſengers earneſtly prayed the Prince of *Parma* to put forth to Sea with his Army, which the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſhould protect, as it were under her wings, till it was landed in *England*. And indeed the Prince of *Parma*, hearing the beſt, and not the worſt of this Voyage, made all things ready that lay in his charge, whoſe hopes were ſo fixed upon *Englands* Conqueſt, and the glittering Diadem upon Queen *Elizabeths* head did ſo dazel his ambitious Eyes, being aſſured by Cardinal *Allen* that he was the man deſigned to be Crowned therewith, that neglecting the Coronet of the *Low-Country* Government, he transferred the charge thereof upon Count *Mansfield* the Elder, and having made his vows to the Lady of *Hall* in *Heinault*, he was already in conceit no leſs than a King. But the date of his Reign was ſoon expired, and his ſwelling tide fallen into a low ſhallow ebb: For the day following in his march to *Dunkirk*, he heard the thundring Ordnance ringing the paſſing Peal of his hopes and title, and

the ſame Evening had news of the hard ſucceſs of the *Spaniards*, the hoped advancers of his dreamed felicity; and indeed do what he could, he could not be ready at the *Spaniards* call: His flat-bottomed Boats for the ſhallow Channels leaked; his proviſion of Victuals proved unready, and his Mariners (having hitherto been detained againſt their wills) had withdrawn themſelves: there lay alſo watching before the Havens of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, whence he was to put forth to Sea, the men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, ſo well provided with great Ordnance and Muſketiers, that he could not put from the ſhore unleſs he would wilfully caſt himſelf and his men upon eminent perils and dangers of deſtruction: and yet he being a skilful and experienced Commander, omitted no means, being inflamed with a deſire to Conquer *England*.

But Queen *Elizabeths* foreſight prevented both his diligence and the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For by Her command the next day after the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchor, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worſt Ships, filled with wild-fire, pitch, roſin, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter: their Ordnance were

charged with Bullets, Stones, Chains, and ſuch like things, fit inſtruments of death; and all the men being taken out, upon the Sabbath day, *July*, the twenty eighth, at two of the clock after midnight, were they let drive with Wind and Tide, under the guidance of *Young* and *Prowſe*, amongſt the *Spaniſh* Fleet. And ſo the Pilots returning, and their trains taking fire, ſuch a ſudden thunderclap was given by them, that the affrighted *Spaniards*, it being the dead time of the night, were amazed, and ſtricken with an horrible fear, leſt all their Ships ſhould have been fired by them. And to avoid this preſent miſchief, being in great perplexity, they had no other remedy to avoid theſe deadly Engines and murthering inventions, than by cutting their Cables in ſunder, the time being too ſhort to weigh up their Anchors, and ſo hoiſing up their Sails to drive at random into the Seas: in which haſt and confuſion the greateſt of their Galliaſſes fell foul upon another Ship, and loſt her Rudder: and ſo floted up and down, and the next day fearfully making towards *Callis*, ran aground upon the ſands, where ſhe was ſet upon by the *Engliſh*. This Galliaſs was of *Naples*: Her General was *Hengh de Moncado*, who

fought the more valiantly, becauſe he expected preſent help from the Prince of *Parma:* But Sir *Amias Preſton* gave ſuch a fierce aſſault upon her, that *Moncado* was ſhot dead with a Bullet, and the Galliaſs boarded, wherein many of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, and a great many others leaping into the Sea were drowned, only Don *Antonio de Matiques*, a principal Officer, had the good hap to eſcape, and was the firſt man that carried the unwelcome news into *Spain*, that their *Invincible Navy* proved vincible. This huge bottom manned with four hundred Souldiers, and three hundred Slaves, that had in her fifty thouſand Ducats of the *Spaniſh* Kings treaſure, fell into the *Engliſh* mens hands; a reward well befitting their valour, who ſharing it merrily amongſt them, and freeing the miſerable Slaves from their Fetters, would have fired the empty Veſſel: but Monſieur *Gourden*, Governour of *Callis*, fearing that the fire might endanger the Town, would not permit them to do it, bending his Ordnance againſt thoſe which attempted it.

Had not this politick Stratagem of the Fire-ſhips been found out, it would have been very difficult for the *Engliſh* to have

diſlodged them; for thoſe huge Ships had their bulks ſo ſtrengthened with thick Planks, and maſſie Beams, that our Bullets might ſtrike, and ſtick, and yet never paſs through them: So that the greateſt hurt which our *Engliſh* Canon did, was only by rending their Maſts and Tacklings.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke of *Medina*, when theſe burning Ships approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchor to avoid them, yet ſo, as having ſhunned the danger, preſently every Ship to return to her former ſtation, which accordingly he did himſelf, giving a ſignal to the reſt to do the like, by diſcharging one of his great Guns; but in this general conſternation the warning was heard but of a few, the reſt being ſcattered all about, which for fear were driven ſome into the wide Ocean, and other upon the ſhallows of *Flanders*.

July the twenty ninth, after this miſerable diſaſter, the *Spaniards* ranging themſelves into the beſt order they could, approached over againſt *Graveling*, where once again the *Engliſh* getting the wind of them, deprived them of the conveniency of *Calis* road, and kept them from ſupply out of *Dunkirk*, from whence reſted their

full

full hope of ſupport. In the mean while *Drake* and *Fenner* played inceſſantly with their great Ordnance upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and with them preſently joined *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and laſtly the Lord Admiral himſelf, with the Lords, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield*: On the other hand, the Duke of *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Richalde*, and others of them, with much ado got clear off the ſhallows, and ſuſtained the charge as well as they could, yet were moſt of their Ships pittifully torn and ſhot through, the fight continuing from morning till night, which indeed proved very diſmal to the *Spaniards*, for therein a great Gallion of *Biſcay* periſhed, the Captains whereof to avoid ignominy, or to be reputed valorous, deſperately flew each other. In which diſtreſs alſo two other great Ships preſently ſunk. The Gallion Saint *Matthew* under the command of Don *Diego Piementelli*, coming to reſcue Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, who was in the Saint *Philip*, was, together with the other, miſerably torn with ſhot, their tacklings ſpent, and their bulks rent, ſo that the water entred in on all ſides, which fight was maintained againſt them by *Seimore* and *Winter*,

Winter; In which diſtreſs they were driven near *Oſtend*, where again they were ſhot through and through by the *Zelanders*: Their deſperate condition being known, the Duke of *Medina* ſent his own Skiff for Don *Diego Piementelli*, Camp-maſter, and Colonel over thirty two Bands: But he in a *Spaniſh* Bravado refuſed to leave his Ship, and like a Souldier aſſayed every way to free himſelf: But being unable to do it, he forthwith made towards the Coaſt of *Flanders*, where being again ſet upon by five *Dutchmen* of War, was required to yield, which finally he did unto Captain *Peter Banderdueſs*, who carried him into *Zeland*: and for a Trophy of his Victory hung up his Banner in the Church of *Leiden*, whoſe length reached from the very roof to the ground: Another alſo of the *Spaniſh* Ships coaſting for *Flanders*, was caſt away upon the ſands.

Franciſco de Toledo alſo, being likewiſe a Colonel over thirty two Bands in the other Gallion, taking his courſe for the Coaſt of *Flanders*, his Ship proved ſo leak, that himſelf with ſome others of the chief betook themſelves to their Skiff, and arrived at *Oſtend*, the Ship with the reſidue being taken by the *Fluſhingers*.

The *Spaniards* now finding their welcome into *England* far worse than they expected, were content to couch their Fleet as close together as they could, not seeking to offend their Enemies, but only to defend themselves, and the wind coming to the South-west, in the same order they passed by *Dunkirk*, the *English* still following them at the heels. But lest the Prince of *Parma* should take this advantage to put forth to Sea, the Lord Admiral dispatched the Lord *Henry Seimore* with his Squadron of small Ships to the Coast of *Flanders*, to join with those *Hollanders*, which there kept watch under *Justin* of *Nassau*, their Admiral: This *Holland* Fleet consisted of thirty five Ships, furnished with most skilful Mariners, and twelve hundred Musqueteers, old experienced Souldiers, whom the States had culled out of several Garisons: Their charge was to stop up the *Flemish* Havens, and to prevent entercourse with *Dunkirk*, whither the Prince of *Parma* was come, and would fain have adventured forth, though his men were unwilling, hearing how their Friends had been entertained at Sea: Only the *English* Fugitives, being about seven hundred in number, under that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*,

Stanley, were very forward to be the first that should assault *England*.

July the 31. betimes in the morning the North-west wind blew hard, and the Spanish Fleet laboured by that advantage to return to the narrow strait, but were driven towards *Zeland*: whereupon the *English* gave off the Chase, because they saw they carried almost to their utter ruine; for they could not but run aground upon the sands and shallows near *Zeland*: but the wind turning presently into the South-west and by West, they sailed before the wind, which means they were cleared of the shallowes, and so that Evening they called a Council what to do, and by consent it was resolved to retain into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean: for that they wanted many necessaries, especially great shot, their Ships also were pitifully torn, and there remained no hope that the Prince of *Parma* would or could bring forth his Fleet.

The *Armada* having now gotten more Sea-room for their huge bodied ships, spread their Main Sails, and made away as fast as wind and water would give them leave: More fearing the small Fleet and Forces of the *English* (though far inferior to them) than standing upon terms of

nour either for the credit of their Commanders, or their *Invincible Navy*: But surely if they had known the want of Powder ours sustained (a fault inexcusable upon our own Coasts) they no doubt would have stood better to their tacklings: But God in this, as in all the rest, infatuated them, and would have us to acknowledge that our deliverance was by his own gracious Providence and power, and not by any strength or policy of our own.

The *Spanish* Fleet being now carried forth into the deep, they directed their course Northward, and our *English* Admiral followed them, lest they should attempt to put into *Scotland*, against whom they now and then turned head, but stood not to it: Yet most men thought they would return, whereupon our Queen with a manly courage took a view of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*, and walking through the ranks of Armed men placed on both sides, with a Leaders Truncheon in her hand, sometimes in a Martial pace, and other sometimes like a Woman, incredible it is how much she strengthened and encouraged the hearts both of her Captains and Souldiers with her speech and presence. But contrary to expectation, the Enemies with

their

their Sails spread, betook themselves to an absolute flight, and leaving *Scotland* on the West, they bended their Course towards *Norway*, being ill advised therein (but their necessity urged, and God had infatuated their Counsels) thus to adventure to put their shaken and battered bottoms into those black and dangerous Seas. Neither was the Climate healthful for the crazed Bodies of the *Spaniards*, overbeaten, and tired with wants, they being now entred the fifty seventh degree of Northerly Latitude; from whence our Lord Admiral returned, leaving only some Scouts to discover their success.

When the Prince of *Parma* came to *Dunkirk*, the *Spaniards* entertained him with opprobrious speeches, as if in favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, he had neglected his opportunity, and willingly overthrown so hopeful a Design. The Prince to give them some satisfaction punished his Purveyors of Victuals, yet withal laughing in his sleeve at the insolency of the *Spaniards*, having heard them formerly to make their boasts that whithersoever they went they carried assured Victory along with them, and that the *English* durst not once abide to look them in the face.

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The *Spaniards* (as was ſaid even now) being freed from the *Engliſh* that had haunted them like their Ghoſts, conſulted moſt ſeriouſly what was next to be done: they were very tender of the Popes Credit, who had propheſied, that this attempt would be fortunate and ſucceſsful: The wrath of King *Philip* of *Spain* was to be feared, his vaſt Expences being thus loſt, and his hopes fruſtrated: other Adventurers would be undone: the glory of the *Spaniards* would be laid in the duſt: the *Invincible Navy* become a ſcorn, and *England* would ſtill be *England*, not lorded over by the *Spaniards*, if without further attempt they ſhould return into *Spain*. But on the other hand they conſidered that five thouſand of the Souldiers were ſlain: a multitude of their Survivors lay ſick or maimed upon their hands: Twelve of their greateſt Ships were ſunk, loſt, or taken: their Cables, Maſts, and Sails were cut, rent and broken with the *Engliſh* ſhot: Their Anchors left in the road of *Callis*: their Victuals failed: Their freſh water was ſpent: and their Enemies no leſs fierce, undaunted, and ſucceſsful than at the firſt: The Prince of *Parma* though long in preparing, yet ſtill unready, and kept in by the *Dutch*,

Queen

Queen *Elizabeths* firm Allies: which circumſtances wiſely ballanced, the vote went currant for their haſtning to *Spain*.

But withal knowing that the King of *Scots* (faſt knit in affection and blood to our Queen) would yield them no ſupplies; and having as little hope that *Norway* would afford them any, they caſt all their Horſes, and Mules overboard, for the ſparing of their freſh water: and ſo framing their courſe to ſail about *Cathenes*, and the Coaſts of *Ireland*, they ſteered between the *Orcades* and the Iſles of *Farr* unto the ſixty firſt degree of Latitude: From whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his beſt ſtored Ships, took Weſtward over the main Ocean towards *Biſcay*, and at laſt arrived ſafely in *Spain*: where for his welcome, he was depoſed from all his authority, forbidden to come at Court, and commanded to live private, neither could he give ſatisfaction by his bad excuſes, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners; to their ignorance, and ſmall experience of thoſe Northern Seas; the want of ſuccours from the Prince of *Parma*; the Tempeſts, Shipwracks and ill fortune: but not a word of the judgment of God, upon that Giantlike under-

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taking to enſlave all *England* to the *Spaniſh* yoke.

The reſidue of the Ships, being about forty in number, fell nearer with the Coaſt of *Ireland*, intending to touch at Cape *Clare*, well hoping there to refreſh themſelves, and ſupply their wants: but the winds proving contrary and tempeſtuous upon thoſe dangerous Seas, many of their Ships periſhed upon the *Iriſh* ſhores, and amongſt others a great Galliaſs, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was Commander, and two other *Venetian* Ships of great burden, beſides thirty eight more, with moſt of the *Spaniards* contained in them. Such as got clear off the danger, put forth to Sea: ſome of which by a ſtrong Weſt Wind were driven into the *Engliſh* Channel, where ſome of them were again ſet upon and taken by the *Engliſh*, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*, and ſome arrived at *New Haven* in *Normandy*: So that of one hundred thirty four Ships that ſet Sail out of *Lisbon*, only fifty three returned into *Spain*. Of the four Galliaſſes of *Naples* but one: of the four Gallions of *Portugal*, but one: of the ninety one *Gallions*, and great Hulks from divers Provinces, only thirty three returned, fifty eight being loſt. In brief, there ſunk in this Voyage eighty one Veſſels,

thirteen thouſand, five hundred and odd Souldiers. Priſoners taken in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low-Countries* were above two thouſand: Amongſt thoſe in *England*, Don *Pedro de Valdez*, Don *Vaſques de Silva*, and Don *Alonzo de Saies*, and others were kept for their ranſome. In *Ireland* Don *Alonzo de Luzon*, *Roderigo de Laſſe*, and others of great account: In *Zeland* was Don *Diego Piementelli*: To be brief, there was no famous, or noble family in all *Spain*, which in this expedition loſt not a Son, Brother, or Kinſman. And thus this *Armado* which had been ſo many years in preparing, and rigging with ſuch vaſt expence, was in one month many times aſſaulted, and at length wholly defeated with the ſlaughter of ſo many of her men, not one hundred of the *Engliſh* being lacking, nor one ſmall Ship of theirs taken, or loſt, ſave only that of *Cocks*: and having traverſed round about all *Britain*, by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, moſt grievouſly toſſed, and very much diſtreſſed, and waſted by ſtormes, wracks, and all kinds of miſery, at length came lamely home, with perpetual diſhonour: whereupon *Medals* were ſtamped in memory thereof: A Fleet flying with full Sailes; with this inſcription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, It came, it

ſaw, it fled: Others in honour of our Queen, with flaming Ships, and a Fleet in a great confuſion, and this Motto, *Dux fœmina facti*, A Woman was Conductor of the fact.

In the aforementioned wracks above ſeven hundred Souldiers and Sailors were caſt on land in *Scotland*, who (upon the interceſſion of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by the permiſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*) were after a years time ſent over into the *Low-Countries*: But more unmercifully were thoſe miſerable wretches dealt withal, whoſe hap was to be driven by tempeſt into *Ireland*: Some of them being ſlain by the wild *Iriſh* (their old friends) and others of them being put to death by the command of the Lord Deputy: For he fearing leſt they might join with the *Iriſh* to diſturb the peace of the Nation, commanded *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught* to deſtroy them: but he refuſing to deal ſo rigorouſly with thoſe that had yielded themſelves, He ſent *Fowle*, Deputy-Marſhal, who drew them out of their lurking holes, and cut off the heads of above two hundred of them; which fact the Queen from her heart condemned, and abhorred as a fact of too great cruelty. The remainder of them being terrified herewith, ſick and

ſtarven as they were, committed themſelves to Sea in their ſhattered Veſſels, and were many of them ſwallowed up by the Waves.

The *Spaniards* charged the whole fault of their overthrow upon the Prince of *Parma*, as if in favour to our Queen he had wilfully and artificially delayed his coming to them: But this was but an invention, and pretention given out by them, partly upon a *Spaniſh* Envy againſt that Prince, he being an *Italian*, and his Son a Competitor to the Kingdom of *Portugal*: But chiefly to ſave the ſcorn and monſtrous diſreputation which they and their Nation received by the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe: Therefore their colours, and excuſes (forſooth) were, That their General by Sea had a limited Commiſſion, not to fight till the Land Forces were come in to them, and that the Prince of *Parma* had particular reaches and ends of his own to croſs the deſigne.

But it was both a ſtrange Commiſſion, and a ſtrange Obedience to a Commiſſion, for men in the midſt of their own blood, and being ſo furiouſly aſſailed, to hold their hands, contrary to the Laws of Nature and neceſſity. And as for the Prince of *Parma*, he was reaſonably well tempted

to

to be true to that enterpriſe, by no leſs promiſe than to be made a Feudatory or Beneficiary King of *England* under the Seignory (in chief) of the Pope, and the protection of the King of *Spain*. Beſides, it appeared that the Prince of *Parma* held his place long after of the Government of the *Netherlands*, in the favour and truſt of the King of *Spain*, and by the great imployments and ſervices that he performed in *France*. It is alſo manifeſt that this Prince did his beſt to come down, and put to Sea: The truth was, that the *Spaniſh* Navy, upon thoſe proofs of Fight which they had with the *Engliſh*, finding how much hurt they received, and how little hurt they did, by reaſon of the activity and low building of our Ships, and skill of Seamen; and being alſo commanded by a General of ſmall courage and experience, and having loſt at firſt two of their braveſt Commanders at Sea, *Pedro de Valdez*, and *Michael de Oquendo*, durſt not put it to a Battel at Sea, but ſet up their reſt wholly upon the Land enterpriſe. On the other ſide, the tranſportation of the Land Forces failed in the very foundation; For, whereas the Council of *Spain* made full account that their Navy ſhould be Maſter of the Sea, and therefore able

to guard and protect the Veſſels of Tranſportation: When it fell out to the contrary, that the great Navy was diſtreſſed, and had enough to do to ſave it ſelf, and that their Land Forces were impounded by the *Hollanders*: Things (I ſay) being in this ſtate, it came to paſs that the Prince of *Parma* muſt have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Bark, nor Mariner to put to Sea. Yet certain it is that the Prince looked for the coming back of the *Armado* even at that time when they were wandring, and making their perambulation upon the Northern Seas.

Queen *Elizabeth* lying one night in her Army at *Tilbury*, the old Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* came thither and delivered to the Earl of *Leiceſter* the Examination of Don *Pedro*, who was taken and brought into *England* by Sir *Francis Drake*, which examination the Earl delivered unto me (ſaith Dr *Sharp*, mine Author) that I might publiſh it to the Army in my next Sermon. The ſum of it was this:

Don *Pedro* being asked by ſome of the Lords of the Privy Council, what was the intent of their coming? ſtoutly anſwered the Lords, what? but to ſubdue your Nation, and

and to root it out. Good (said the Lords) what then meant you to do with the *Catholicks?* we meant (said he) to have sent them (good men) directly to Heaven, as all you that are Hereticks to Hell. Yea, but (said the Lords) what meant you to do with your whips of Cord and Wier, where of you have such great store in your Ships? what? (said he) we meant to whip you Hereticks to Death that have assisted my Masters Rebels, and done such dishonour to our *Catholick* King and People. Yea, but what would you have done (said they) with their young Children? They (said he) which were above seven years old should have gone the same way that their Fathers went: the rest should have lived, only we would have branded them in the Foreheads with the letter L. for *Lutheran*, and reserved them for perpetual bondage.

This I take God to witness (saith my Author) I received of those great Lords, as upon examination taken by the Council, and by Commandment, published to the Army.

The next day (saith he) the Queen rode through her Army, attended by Noble Footmen, *Leicester*, *Essex*, and *Norris* then Lord Marshall, and divers other great Lords, where the [illegible] Orla-

tion to her Army, and withal commanded a publick Faſt to be kept. Her Oration was this.

MY loving people, we have been perſwaded by ſome that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit our ſelves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery: but I aſſure you I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving people. Let Tyrants fear: I have alwaies ſo behaved my ſelf that (under God) I have alwaies placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my Subjects: and therefore I am come amongſt you, as you ſee, at this time, not for my recreation and diſport, but being reſolved in the middeſt and heat of the battel to live or die amongſt you all; to lay down for my God, and for my Kingdom, and for my people, my Honour, and my Blood even in the duſt. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble Woman, but I have the Heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of England *too, and think ſcorn that* Parma, *or* Spain, *or any Prince of* Europe *ſhould dare to invade the Borders of my Realm; to which, rather than any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I my ſelf will take up Armes, I my ſelf will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your Vertues in the Field. I know already for your forwardneſs*

wardneſs you have deſerved Rewards, and Crowns, and we do aſſure you in the word of a Prince, that ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lieutenant General (Leiceſter) *ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom, never Prince commanded a more Noble or Worthy Subject; not doubting but by your Obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your valour in the Field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous Victory over thoſe Enemies of my God, of my Kingdoms, and my people.*

Thus we ſee the curſe of God and his threatning in Scripture accompliſhed: *They came out againſt us one way, and they fled ſeven wayes before us:* making good (even to the aſtoniſhment of all Poſterity) the wonderful Judgments of God poured out commonly upon ſuch vaſt and proud aſpirings.

After this Glorious Deliverance of our Land by the Power of the *Omnipotent*, and the wild Boar repelled that ſought to lay waſte *Englands* fair and fruitful Vineyard, our Gracious and Godly Queen (who ever held Ingratitude a Capital Sin, eſpecially towards Her *Almighty Protector*) as ſhe had begun with Prayer, ſo ſhe ended with Praiſe, commanding ſolemn *Thankſgivings* to be celebrated to the Lord of Hoſts at the Cathedral

thedral Church of Saint *Paul* in her chief City of *London*, which accordingly was done upon Sabbath day the eighth of *September*: at which time eleven of the *Spaniſh* Enſignes (the once badges of their bravery, but now of their vanity and ignominy) were hung upon the lower Battlements of that Church, as Palmes of Praiſe for *Englands* Deliverance: a ſhew no doubt more pleaſing to God than when their ſpread colours did ſet out the pride of the *Spaniards*, threatning the blood of ſo many innocent and faithful Chriſtians.

Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf, to be an example unto others upon Sabbath the twenty fourth of *September*, came from her Palace of *White-Hall* in *Weſtminſter* through the ſtreets of *London* (which were hung with blew Cloth, the Companies of the City ſtanding in their Liveries on both ſides with their Banners in goodly order) being carried in a Chariot drawn with two Horſes to St. *Paul's* Church, where diſmounting from Her Chariot at the Weſt door, ſhe humbled Her ſelf upon her Knees, and with great devotion, in an audible voice She praiſed God as her only *Defender*, who had delivered Her ſelf and People from the

In bloo

bloody deſignes of ſo cruel an Enemy. The Sermon then preached tended wholly to give all the glory to God, as the Author of this wonderful deliverance: and when that was ended, Her Majeſty Her ſelf, with moſt Princely and Chriſtian ſpeeches exhorted all the people to a due performance of thoſe religious ſervices of thankfulneſs which the Lord expected and required of them.

About the ſame time the Fair being kept in *Southwark*, the *Spaniſh* Flags were hung up at *London-Bridge* to the great joy of the beholders, and eternal infamy of the *Spaniards* proud attempts, as irreligious as unſucceſsful. But the ſolemn day appointed for Thankſgiving throughout the Land was the nineteenth of *November*, being *Tueſday*, which accordingly was obſerved with great joy and praiſing of God, and well it were if it had ſo continued ſtill, being no leſs a Deliverance than was that of *Purim* amongſt the Jews, which they inſtituted to be kept holy throughout their Generations.

The *Zelanders* alſo to leave a memorial of their thankfulneſs to God, and their faithfulneſs to our Queen, cauſed *Medals* of Silver to be ſtamped, having engraven on the one ſide the Armes of their Coun-

try;

try; with this Inſcription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the reverſe, the Portraicture of great Ships, under written, *the Spaniſh Fleet*, and in the Circumference, *It came, It went, It was, Anno* 1588. In other Medals alſo were ſtamped Ships floating, and ſinking, and in the reverſe, Supplicants upon their Knees, with this Motto, *Man propoſeth, God diſpoſeth*, 1588. The *Hollanders* alſo ſtamped ſome Medals with *Spaniſh* Ships and this Motto, *Impius fugit nemine ſequente*: the wicked fly when none purſues.

Our Queen, to ſhew Her Gratitude as well to the Inſtruments as to the Author of this great Deliverance, aſſigned certain yearly Rents to the Lord Admiral for his gallant ſervice, and many times commended him, and the other Captains of Her Ships, as men born for the Preſervation of their Country. The reſt She graciouſly ſaluted by name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, as men of notable deſerts, wherewith they held themſelves well apaid, and thoſe which were Wounded, Maimed, or Poor, She rewarded with competent Penſions.

The Lord of Hoſts having thus diſpelled this Storm, the Queen diſſolved Her Camp at *Tilbury*, and not long after the

Earl

Earl of *Leiceſter* ended his dayes, having been a Peer of great Eſtate and Honour, but liable to the common deſtiny of *Great Ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few ſpeak well of after their death.

This Admirable Deliverance was congratulated by almoſt all other Nations, eſpecially by all the reformed Churches, and many Learned Men celebrated the ſame in Verſe, amongſt which I ſhall onely mention two: The firſt was that Poem made by Reverend Mr. *Beza*, Tranſlated into all the chief Languages in Chriſtendom, to be perpetuated to all enſuing Poſterity. It was this.

STraverat innumeris Hiſpanus claſſibus æquor,
Regnis junƈturus Sceptra Britanna ſuis.
Tanti hujus rogitas quæ motus cauſa? ſuperbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexat avaritia.
Quam bene te Ambitio merſit vaniſſima ventus;
Et tumidæ tumidos Vos ſuperaſtis aquæ!
Quam bene Raptores Orbis totius Iberos
Merſit inexhauſti juſta vorago Maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum miſtat Æquor,
Regina, O mundi totius una decus:

Sic

Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remota;
Prodiga ſic opibus perge juvare pios;
Ut te Angli longum, longum Anglis ſi
fruaris,
Quam dilecta bonis, tam metuenda ma

SPaines King with Navies great the Se
beſtrew'd,
T' augment with *Engliſh* Crown his *Sp*
niſh ſway:
Ask ye what caus'd this proud attemp
'twas lewd
Ambition drove, and *Avarice* led the wa
It's well; Ambitions windy puff
drown'd
By winds, and ſwelling hearts, by ſwelli
waves:
It's well; thoſe *Spaniards* who the *Wor*
vaſt round
Devour'd, devouring Sea moſt juſti
craves.
But thou O *Queen*, for whom *Winds*, *Sea*
do war,
O thou the Glory of this Worlds wid
Maſs,
So reign to God ſtill, from *Ambition* far,
So ſtill with bounteous aids the *G*
imbrace:

That Thou maiſt *England* long, long *England* Thee enjoy,
Thou terror of all *Bad*, Thou *Good* Mens joy.

The other is that, made by Mr Samuel Ward *of* Ipſwich.

OCtogeſimus Octavus, *Mirabilis annus*
Clade Papiſtarum, Fauſtus ubique piis.

IN *Eighty eight Spain* arm'd with potent might
Againſt our peaceful Land came on to fight:
The *Winds*, and *Waves*, and *Fire* in one conſpire
To help the *Engliſh*, fruſtrate *Spains* deſire.

THE

THE

THE Gunpowder-Treason:

Being A

REMEMBRANCER TO *ENGLAND*,

Of that ancient deliverance from that *Horrid Plot*, hatched by the Bloody PAPISTS, 1605.

Tending to revive the Memory of the fifth of *November*, to every Family in this Nation.

That all sorts may be stirred up to real thankfulness, and transmit the same to their Posterities, that their Children may know the reason why the fifth of *November* is celebrated: that God may have glory and PAPISTS perpetual Infamy.

The Lord is known by the judgment that he executeth, and the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. Higgaion Selah. *Psal.* 9. 16.

By *SAMUEL CLARK*, formerly Pastor of *Bennet Finck*, *London*.

LONDON,

Printed for *J. Hancock*, at the *three Bibles*, in *Pope's-Head* Alley, next to *Cornhill*, 1676.

TO THE READER.

Christian Reader,

LEst the remembrance of so signal a mercy and deliverance vouchsafed by God both to Church and State should be buried in Oblivion, I have (at the request of the Book seller) presented thee here with a true and faithful Narrative of that grand work of darkness, forged in Hell, and by Satan suggested to some Popish Instruments, who envying the peace and prosperity of our Church, and progress of the Gospel, had designed at one blow to overthrow both: and that nothing might be wanting to complete that horrid wickedness, their purpose was to have charged it upon the Puritans, thereby hoping to free themselves and their Religion from the imputation of so heinous a Crime. Now that the

memorial of a mercy of such publick and general concernment should not be forgotten, we have the word of the eternal God to be our guide therein. When the Lord had by his Angel destroyed the first-born of Egypt, *and spared* Israel, *he instituted the feast of the* Passover *to continue the memorial thereof through their Generations*, Ex. 12. 11, 12, 14. *and ver.* 26, 27. *saith* Moses *to them*, When your Children shall say unto you, What mean you by this service? ye shall say, It is the Sacrifice of the Lords Passover, who passed over the Houses of the Children of Israel when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our Houses. *And how careful good* Mordecai *was to continue the remembrance of that great deliverance of the people of God from destruction plotted and contrived by that wicked* Haman, *appears* Esth. 9. 20, &c. *where they did not only celebrate those present dayes of their deliverance with feasting, and gladness: but be-*

ther with the reſt of the Jewes, ordained, and took upon them, and their ſeed, and upon all ſuch as joined themſelves unto them, ſo as it ſhould not fail, that they would keep thoſe daies in their appointed time every year, and that thoſe daies ſhould be remembred, and kept through their Generations, every Family, every Province, and every City, and that thoſe daies of *Purim* ſhould not fail from amongſt the Jews, nor the memorial of them periſh from their ſeed, *&c. And truly the remembrance of this great mercy hath the more need to be revived at this time, when ſome noted perſons amongſt us begin to decry it, and wholly to lay aſide the obſervation of that day, though enjoined by Act of Parliament, and made conſcience of by moſt of the godly people of the Nation. I have alſo been induced the rather to make this brief Collection of the Story, becauſe, though it be publiſhed by others, yet it is in larger Vo-*

lumes, which are not every ones money: whereas, for a small matter every family may get and keep this by them for the benefit, and satisfaction both of themselves and Children, that so the Lord may not lose of his glory, nor they (for want of information) fail of their duty. I shall conclude with that of the Psalmist, Psal. 107. 8. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness: and for his wonderful works to the Children of men! *which is the hearty desire of*

Thine for thy

spiritual good,

SAM. CLARK.

THE

THE DELIVERANCE OF OUR CHURCH and STATE FROM THE *Helliſh Powder-Plot*, 1605.

THE Plot was to undermine the Parliament-Houſe, and with Powder to blow up the King, Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgeſſes, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence and Authority in the Land: Fathers, Sons, Brothers, Allies, Friends, Foes, Papiſts, and Proteſtants, all at one blaſt.

Their intent, when that irreligious atchievement had been performed, was, to ſurprize the remainder of the Kings Iſſue, to alter Religion and Government, and to

bring in a Foreign Power. Sir *Edmond Baynam*, an attainted perſon (who ſtiled himſelf *Prince of the damned Crew*) was ſent unto the Pope as he was a temporal Prince to acquaint him with the Gun-Powder-Plot; and now to the Plot it ſelf.

The Seſſions of Parliament being diſſolved *July* the 7th *Anno Chriſti*, 1604. and Prorogued to the ſeventh of *February* following: *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, ſent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had been imployed into *Spain*, and acquainted him with the deſign of blowing up the Parliament-Houſe, who readily apprehending it, ſaid, *This indeed ſtrikes at the root*; only theſe helps were wanting; a Houſe for reſidence, and a skilful man to carry on the Mine: But the firſt, *Catesby* aſſured him was eaſie to be got; and for the man, he commended *Guy Fawkes*, a ſufficient Souldier, and a forward Catholick: Thus *Robert Catesby*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes*, had many meetings, and Conferences about this buſineſs, till at laſt *Thomas Percy* came puffing in to *Catesby*'s Lodging at *Lambeth*, ſaying, *What Gentlemes, ſhall we alwaies be talking, and never do any thing? You cannot be ignorant how things proceed?* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, that ſomething was reſolved on, but firſt an

Oath

Oath for ſecreſie was to be adminiſtred: for which purpoſe they appointed to meet ſome three days after, behind *Clements* Church beyond *Temple-Bar*; where being met, *Percy* profeſſed that for the Catholick cauſe, himſelf would be the man to advance it, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which he was there ready to undertake and do.

No *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not adventure thy ſelf to ſo ſmall a purpoſe; if thou wilt be a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater advantage, and ſuch an one as can never be diſcovered: Hereupon all of them took the Oath of Secreſie, heard a Maſs, and received the Sacrament, after which *Catesby* told them his deviliſh device by Mine and Gunpowder to blow up the Parliament-Houſe, and ſo by one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many to effect that at once which had been many years attempting: and for cauſe of Conſcience to kill the innocent with the nocent, he told them that it was warrantable by the Authority of *Garnet* himſelf, the ſuperiour of the *Engliſh* Jeſuites, and of *Garrard* and *Treſmond* (Jeſuitical Prieſts likewiſe) who by their Apoſtolical Power did commend the fact, and abſolve the Actors. The Oath was given them by the ſaid *Garrard* in theſe words;

You

You ſhall ſwear by the bleſſed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receive, never to diſcloſe directly, nor indirectly, by word, or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keep ſecret, nor deſiſt from the execution thereof until the reſt ſhall give you leave.

The Project being thus far carried on, in the next place the firſt thing they ſought after, was an Houſe wherein they might begin their work, for which purpoſe no place was held fitter than a certain Edifice adjoining to the Wall of the Parliament Houſe, which ſerved for a withdrawing room to the Aſſembled Lords, and out of Parliament time was at the diſpoſe of Mr. *Winyard* the Keeper of the place, and Wardrobe thereto belonging: theſe did *Percy* hire for his Lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* as his man, who changing his name into *Johnſon*, had the Keyes, and keeping of the rooms commended to him; Beſides this, they hired another Houſe to lay in proviſion of Powder, and to frame and fit Wood in for the carrying on the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, and ſware *Robert Keies* into their Conſpiracy, whom he made the Keeper of thoſe proviſions, who by night convoyed the ſame unto *Fawkes*.

The

The appointed day for the Parliament being the ſeventh day of *February*, It was thought fit to begin their work in *October* before: but *Fawkes* returning out of the Country, found *Percies* rooms appointed for the Scottiſh Lords to meet in, who were to treat about the union of the two Kingdoms, whereupon they forbore for a while to begin their work: But that Aſſembly being ſoon diſſolved, upon the eleventh of *December* late in the night they entred upon their work of darkneſs, beginning their Mine, having tools aforehand prepared, and baked meats provided, the better to avoid ſuſpicion, in caſe they ſhould ſend abroad for them.

They which firſt began the Mine, were *Robert Catesby* Eſquire, the Arch-Contriver and Traitor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Eſquire, a Kin to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, *Guy Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbies* Man, all of them well grounded in the *Romiſh* School, and earneſt labourers in this Vault of Villany, ſo that by *Chriſtmas-Eve* they had brought the Mine under an Entry adjoining to the Wall of the Parliament-Houſe, under-propping the Earth as they went with their framed Timber, nor till

that

that day were they ſeen abroad of any man.

During this undermining, much conſultation was had, how to order the reſt of the buſineſs, when the deed ſhould be accompliſhed: the firſt was, how to ſurpriſe the next Heir to the Crown: for though they doubted not but that Prince *Henry* would Accompany his Father, and periſh with him, yet they ſuſpected that Duke *Charles*, as too young to attend the Parliament, would eſcape the train, and perchance be ſo carefully guarded, and attended at Court, that he would be gotten into their hands hardly; But *Percy* offered to be the remover of this rub, reſolving with ſome other Gentlemen to enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reaſon of his acquaintance he might well do, and others of his like acquaintance ſhould be placed at ſeveral Doors of the Court, ſo that when the blow was given, and all men in a maze, then would he carry away the Duke, which he preſumed would be eaſily done, the moſt of the Court being then abſent, and for ſuch as were preſent, they would be altogether unprovided for reſiſtance.

For the ſurprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of far leſs difficulty,

ſhe

ſne remaining at *Comb Abbey* in *Warwick-ſhire* with the Lord *Harrington*, and *Aſh-bey*, *Catesbies* Houſe being not far from the ſame, whither under a pretence of an hunting upon *Dunſmore* Heath, many Catholicks ſhould be aſſembled, who knowing for what purpoſe they were met, had the full liberty in that diſtracted time to provide Money, Horſes, Armor, and other neceſſaries for War, under pretence of ſtrengthning and guarding the Heir Apparent to the Crown.

Then it was debated what Lords they ſhould ſave from the Parliament, and it was agreed that they ſhould keep as many as they could that were Catholicks or Favourers of them; but that all others ſhould feel the ſmart, and that the treaſon ſhould be charged upon the *Puritans* to make them more odious to the World.

Next it was controverted what Foreign Princes they ſhould make Privy to this Plot, ſeeing they could not enjoin them ſecreſie, nor oblige them by Oath, and this much troubled them. For though *Spain* was held fitteſt to ſecond their Plot, yet he was ſlow in his preparations, and *France* was too near and too dangerous to be dealth with, and how the *Hollanders* ſtood affected

affected to *England* they knew very well. But while they were thus busying themselves, and tormenting their brains, the Parliament was again adjourned to the fifth day of *October* ensuing, whereupon they brake off both discourse, and work till *Candlemas*, and then they laid in Powder, and other Provisions, beginning their work again, and having in the mean time taken into their Company *Christopher Wright*, and *Robert Winter*, being first sworn, and receiving the Sacrament for secresie; the foundation Wall of the Parliament-House, being very hard and nine foot thick, with great difficulty they wrought half through; *Fawkes* being their Centinel to give warning when any came near, that the noise in digging might not be heard.

The Labourers thus working into the Wall, were suddenly surprized with a great fear, and casting away their digging Tools, betook themselves to their Weapons, having sufficient shot and Powder in the House, and fully resolving rather to die in the place than to yield or be taken. The cause of this their fear was a noise that they heard in a room under the Parliament House, under which they meant to have Mined, which was directly under the Chair

of

of State; but now all on a ſudden they were at a ſtand, and their Countenances caſt each upon other, as doubtful what would be the Iſſue of their enterprize. *Fawkes* ſcouted out to ſee what he could diſcover abroad, and finding all ſafe, and free from ſuſpicion, he returned, and told them that the noiſe was only occaſioned by the removal of Coals that were now upon Sale, and that the Cellar was to be let, which would be more commodious for their purpoſe, and alſo would ſave their labour for the Mine. Hereupon *Thomas Percy*, under pretence of Stowage for his Winter proviſion and Coals, went and hired the Cellar; which done they began a new Conference, wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole work too heavy for himſelf alone to ſupport: for beſides the maintenance of ſo many perſons, and the ſeveral Houſes for the ſeveral uſes hired, and paid for by him, the Gunpowder and other Proviſions would riſe to a very great ſum, and indeed too much for one mans Purſe. He deſired therefore that himſelf, *Percy*, and one more might call in ſuch perſons as they thought fit to help to maintain the charge, alledging that they knew men of worth and wealth that would willingly aſſiſt, but were not willing that their

names

names ſhould be known to the reſt. This requeſt, as neceſſary, was approved, and therefore ceaſing to dig any further in the Vault, knowing that the Cellar would be fitter for their purpoſe, they removed into it twenty Barrels of Gunpowder, which they covered with a thouſand Billets, and five hundred Faggots, ſo that now their lodging rooms were cleared of all ſuſpicious proviſion, and might be freely entered into without danger of diſcovery.

But the Parliament being again Prorogued to the fifth of *November* following, theſe perſons thought fit that for a while they ſhould again diſperſe themſelves (all things being already in ſo good a forwardneſs) and that *Guy Fawkes* ſhould go over to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and Maſter *Hugh Owen* with theſe their proceedings, yet ſo, as the Oath of ſecreſie ſhould be firſt taken by them. For their deſign was to have Sir *William Stanley*'s preſence ſo ſoon as the fatal blow ſhould be given, to be a Leader to their intended ſtratagems, whereof (as they thought) they ſhould have great need, and that *Owen* ſhould remain where he was, to hold correſpondency with Foreign Princes, to allay the odiouſneſs of the fact, and to impute the Treaſon to the diſcontented *Papiſts*.

Fawkes

Fawkes coming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, unto whom, after the Oath, he declared the Plot, which he very well approved of, but Sir *William Stanley* being now in *Spain*, *Owen* said, that he would hardly be drawn into the business, having suits at this time in the *English* Court: yet he promised to ingage him all he could, and to send him into *England* with the first, so soon as their Plot had taken effect: Upon this, *Fawkes* to avoid further suspicion, kept still in *Flanders* all the beginning of *September*, and then returning, received the Keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more Powder, Billets and Faggots, which done he retired into the Country, and there kept till the end of *October*.

In the mean time *Catesby* and *Percy* meeting at the *Bath*, it was there concluded that because their number was but few, *Catesby* himself should have power to call in whom he would to assist their design, by which Authority he took in Sr *Everard Digby* of *Rutlandshire*, and *Francis Tresham* Esquire of *Northamptonshire*, both of them of sufficient state and wealth; For Sir *Everard* offered fifteen hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Tresham* two thousand. But *Percy* disdaining that any should out-run him in evil, promised four thousand pounds

out of the Earl of *Northumberlands* Rents, and ten ſwift Horſes to be uſed when the blow was paſt. Againſt which time to provide ammunition, *Catesby* alſo took in *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *John Grant*, two Recuſant Gentlemen, and without doubt others were acquainted alſo with it, had theſe two grand Electors been apprehended alive, whoſe own tongues only could have given an account of it.

The buſineſs being thus forwarded abroad by their complices, they at home were no leſs active: For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had ſtored this Cellar with thirty ſix Barrels of Gunpowder, and inſtead of ſhot, had laid upon them Bars of Iron, logs of Timber, maſſie Stones, Iron Crowes, Pick-Axes, and all their working Tools, and to cover all, great ſtore of Billets and Faggots, ſo that nothing was wanting againſt that great and terrible day. Neither were the Prieſts and Jeſuits ſlack on their parts, who uſually concluded their Maſſes with Prayers for the good ſucceſs of their expected hopes, about which *Garnet* made theſe Verſes,

Gentem aufer perfidam credentium
de finibus:
Ut Chriſto laudes debitas perſolvamus
alacriter.

And

And others thus. *Proſper Lord their pains that labour in thy cauſe day and night: Let Hereſie vaniſh away like ſmoke: Let their memory periſh with a crack like the ruine and fall of a broken houſe.*

Upon *Thurſday* in the Evening, ten days before the Parliament was to begin, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was delivered by an unknown perſon to his footman in the ſtreet, with a ſtrait charge to give it into his Lords own hands, which accordingly he did: The Letter had neither date, nor ſubſcription, and was ſomewhat unlegible, ſo that the Nobleman called for one of his ſervants to aſſiſt him in reading it; the ſtrange contents whereof much perplexed him, he not knowing whether it was writ as a *Paſquil* to ſcare him from attendance at the Parliament, or as matter of conſequence, and advice from ſome friend. Howſoever, though it were now Supper-time, and the night very dark, yet to ſhew his loyalty to his Sovereign, he immediately repaired to *Whitehall*, and imparted the Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then principal Secretary, who reading the Letter, and hearing how it came to the Lord *Monteagles* hands, highly commended his Prudence and Loyalty for diſcovering it, telling him plainly that whatſoever might

be the event, yet it put him in mind of divers Advertiſements, wherewithal he had acquainted both the King, and his Counſil, of ſome great buſineſs which the *Papiſts* were in hand with, both at home and abroad againſt this Parliament, pretending a Petition to the King and Parliament for a toleration of their Religion, but withal, giving out, that it ſhould be delivered in ſuch an order, and ſo well backed, that the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſt. Then did the Earl of *Salisbury* preſently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlain* therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himſelf; his Office requiring him to overſee all the places to which his Majeſty was to repair: Hereupon theſe two Counſellors ſhewed the Letter to the Earls of *Worceſter* and *Northampton*, and all concluded (how ſlight ſoever the contents ſeemed to appear) to acquaint the King himſelf with the ſame, which accordingly was done by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who upon *Friday* in the Afternoon (being *All-Saints* day) taking the King into the Gallery at *Whitehall*, communicated the Letter to him, which was as followeth,

My

My Lord,

OUT of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation: Therefore I would adviſe you as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament: For God and Man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this adverti ſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make a good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you.

His Majesty after reading this Letter, pausing a while, and then reading it again, delivered his judgment, that the stile of it was too quick and pithy to be a Libel proceeding from the superfluities of an idle brain, and by these words, *That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet not see who hurt them*; he presently apprehended, that a sudden danger by a blast of Gunpowder was intended by some base Villain in a Corner, though no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appeared: But the Earl of *Salisbury*, perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier than he expected, told his Majesty that he judged by one sentence in it that it was written either by a Fool, or a Mad-man. For said he, *If the danger be past as soon as you have burnt the Letter*, then the warning is to little purpose, when the burning of the Letter may prevent the danger.

But the King on the contrary, considering the former sentence, *That they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*, joining it with this other sentence, did thereupon conclude that the danger mentioned should be very sudden by some blast of Gun-Powder: interpreting *as soon*, for, *as quickly*: and therefore wished that the rooms under

the

the Parliament-Houſe ſhould be thoroughly ſearched, before Himſelf or Peers ſhould ſit therein: Hereupon it was concluded that the Lord *Chamberlain* (according to his Office) ſhould view all the rooms above and below; but yet, to prevent idle rumors and to let things ripen further, it was reſolved that this ſearch ſhould be deferred till *Munday*, the day immediately before the Parliament, and that then it ſhould be done with a ſeeming ſlight eye to avoid ſuſpect.

According to this concluſion, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord *Chamberlain*, upon *Munday* in the Afternoon, accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, repaired into thoſe under rooms, and finding the Cellar ſo fully ſtored with Wood and Coals, demanded of *Fawkes*, the counterfeit *Johnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſervant of ſmall repute, *Who owed the place?* He anſwered that the Lodgings belonged to Mr *Thomas Percy*, and the Cellar alſo, to lay in his Winter-proviſion, himſelf being the Keeper of it and Mr *Percies* Servant; whereunto the Earl, as void of any ſuſpicion, told him that his Maſter was well provided againſt Winter blaſts: But when they were come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him that he did much ſuſpect *Percy* to be the Inditer

of the Letter, knowing his affection in Religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo that his heart gave him (as he ſaid) when he heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

The Lord *Chamberlain* returning, related to the King and Council what he had ſeen, and the ſuſpicion that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himſelf of *Johnſon* his man, all which increaſed his Majeſties jealouſie, ſo that he inſiſted that a narrower ſearch ſhould be made, and the Billets and Coals turned up to the bottom; of the ſame mind alſo were all the Privy-Counſellors then preſent: but for the manner how the ſearch was to be made, they agreed not among themſelves. For on the one part they were very ſolicitous for the Kings ſafety, concluding that there could not be too much caution uſed for preventing his danger: and yet on the other part they were all extreme loth (in caſe this Letter ſhould prove nothing but the evaporation of ſome idle brain) that a too curious ſearch ſhould be made, leſt, if nothing were found, it ſhould turn to the great ſcandal of the King and State, as being ſo ſuſpicious upon every light and frivolous toy: Beſides it would lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of

of his Majeſties greateſt Subjects, and Counſellors, This *Thomas Percy* being his Kinſman, and intimate Friend. Yet at laſt the ſearch was concluded to be made, but under colour of ſearching for certain Hangings belonging to the Houſe, which were miſſing and conveyed away.

Sir *Thomas Knevet* (a Gentleman of his Majeſties Privy-Chamber, and a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*) was imployed herein, who about midnight before the Parliament was to begin, went to the place with a ſmall, but truſty number of perſons: and at the door of the entrance to the Cellar, finding one (who was *Guy Fawkes*) at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, Cloked, and Booted, he apprehended him, and ranſacking the Billets, he found the Serpents Neſt ſtored with thirty ſix Barrels of Powder, and then ſearching the Villain, he found about him a dark Lanthorn, three Matches, and other inſtruments for blowing up the Powder: And *Fawkes* being no whit daunted, inſtantly confeſſed his guiltineſs, and was ſo far from repentance, as he vowed, that had he been within the Houſe (as indeed he was but immediately come forth from his work) he would certainly have blown up the Houſe with himſelf and them all: and being brought before the Council, he

lamented

lamented nothing ſo much as becauſe the deed was not done, ſaying, that *the Devil, and not God, was the diſcoverer of it.*

And indeed when this Priſoner was firſt brought into *Whitehall*, in reſpect of the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, no man was reſtrained from ſeeing, and ſpeaking with him, and not long after the Lords of the Council examined him: But he put on ſuch a *Romane* reſolution, that both to the Council, and to all others that ſpake to him that day, he ſeemed fixed, and ſettled in his reſolution of concealing his complices; and notwithſtanding the horror of the fact, the guiltineſs of his Conſcience, his ſudden ſurprize, the terror which ſhould have been ſtricken into him, by coming into the preſence of ſo noble and grave a Council, and the reſtleſs and confuſed queſtions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance ſo far from being dejected, that he often ſmiled in a ſcornful manner, anſwering quickly to every mans queſtions, ſcoffing at thoſe that were impertinent, and jeſting at ſuch as he thought had no authority to examine him. Before the Council he refuſed to anſwer to ſuch queſtions as he thought might diſcover the Plot: took

all

all the blame upon himſelf, whereunto he ſaid he was moved only for Religion, and Conſcience ſake: denying the King to be his lawful Sovereign, becauſe he was an Heretick.

As deſperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the reſt, who ſeeing the treaſon diſcover'd, poſted all into *Warwickſhire*.

About the ſame hour of the night wherein *Fawkes* was apprehended, one *Grant* a Gentleman, having aſſociated to himſelf others of his opinion, all deſperate *Papiſts*, broke open the Stables of Mr *Bennock*, a Rider of great Horſes at *Warwick* Caſtle, and carried away eight of them, which belonged to divers Noblemen, and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into Mr *Bennock*'s hand to fit them for their ſervice, and ſo both they which had fled from *London*, and *Grant* and his Company met on that *Tueſday* night at *Dun-Church*, at Sir *Everard Digbies* Lodgings, who had made a match for a great Hunting, upon *Dunſmore-heath*, that under pretence thereof they might ſeize upon the Lady *Elizabeth* then at *Comb-Abbey*, with the Lord *Harrington*, but when by thoſe which poſted from *London* they were informed that they were diſcovered, and purſued, being ſtruck with a great fear, not knowing whither to

fly

fty, they desperately began an open Rebellion, pretending that they did it for the cause of Religion, all the Catholicks throats being intended to be cut.

But the violent taking away of those Horses in the night, seemed even in the eyes of the common-people to be so great a riot, though they knew nothing more, that it begat in their hearts a suspicion of some following Rebellion, so that all sorts both great and small began to arm themselves upon this unexpected accident. And old Sir *Fulk Grevil* of *Beauchamps-Court*, being Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, though aged and infirm, yet out of his zeal for the peace and welfare of his Country, presently took order to get into his hands the Ammunition and Arms of all such Gentlemen as were absent from their Houses, or *Popishly* affected, and sent such directions to the Towns about him, that thereupon when these Rebels came to *Ilcester*, a poor Smith stroke *Winter*, who had likewise been taken by the Townsmen but that he was rescued by his Companions. Yet sixteen of their followers were taken and sent to the Sheriff at *Warwick*, and from thence to *London*.

In the mean time the rest wandred through *Warwickshire*, being pursued by

Sir

Sir *Richard Verney*, the then High-Sheriff, and from thence they went through *Worcestershire* into the Borders of *Staffordshire*, their Servants and followers being about eighty men, who also stole away many of them from them. Thus ranging about, and finding no resistance, they rifled the Lord *Windsors* House of all the Armour, Shot, Powder, and all other Warlike provisions: but the weather being rainy, and the waters somewhat high, the Powder in Carriage took wet, and so became unserviceable.

For their last refuge they betook themselves to *Holbach* House in *Staffordshire*, belonging to *Steven Littleton*, whither they were pursued by the High-Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, who not knowing of the treason, and thinking it to be only some fray, or riot, sent his Trumpeter unto them, commanding them to render themselves to him his Majesties Minister: But their Consciences witnessing what the Sheriff knew not, answered, *that he had need of greater assistance than of those few that were with him, before he could be able to command or controul them:* and so they prepared for resistance, and having laid two pounds of the said Powder into a Platter to dry in the Chimney, one coming to mend the fire,

threw

threw in a Billet, whereby a ſpark flew into the Powder, whoſe ſudden blaſt was ſo violent, that though ſo ſmall a quantity, it blew up the roof of the Houſe, ſcorching the Bodies and Faces of *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, and *Grant*, and ſome others, whoſe Conſciences now told them that God had puniſhed them juſtly with Powder, who with Powder would have deſtroyed ſo many. Being diſpirited with this accident, yet like deſperate men, they reſolved to die together, ſet open the Gates, and ſuffered the Sheriffs men to ruſh in upon them, and preſently both the *Wrights* were ſhot down dead: *Rookwood* and *Thomas Winter* were very ſorely wounded, *Catesby* and *Percy* deſperately fighting back to back, were both ſhot through, and ſlain with one Musket Bullet: the reſt being taken, were carried Priſoners to *London*, being all the way gazed at, reviled and deteſted by the common people for their horrid, and horrible treaſon: and ſo at laſt they received the juſt guerdon of their wickedneſs.

Thus you have ſeen this work of darkneſs by the watchfulneſs of Gods providence d tected and defeated, and the contrivers of miſchief faln into the Pit that they digged for others: Now let us ſee alſo how cunningly they contrived the tranſ-

transferring the *Odium* of it upon the Puritans.

There was one Mr *Pickering* of *Tichmarſh-Grove* in *Northamptonſhire*, that was in great eſteem with King *James*. This Mr *Pickering* had a Horſe of ſpecial note for ſwiftneſs, on which he uſed to hunt with the King. A little before the blow was given, Mr *Keies*, one of the Conſpirators and Brother in Law to Mr *Pickering*, borrowed this Horſe of him, and conveyed him to *London* upon a bloody deſign which was thus contrived. *Fawks* upon the day of the fatal blow was appointed to retire himſelf into St. *Georges* Fields, where this Horſe was to attend him to further his eſcape (as they made him believe) ſo ſoon as the Parliament Houſe ſhould be blown up. It was likewiſe contrived, that Mr *Pickering* who was noted for a Puritan, ſhould that Morning be murthered in his Bed, and ſecretly conveyed away: as alſo that *Fawks* ſo ſoon as he came into *Georges* Fields to eſcape, ſhould be there murthered, and ſo mangled, that he could not be known: whereupon it was to be bruited abroad that the Puritans had blown up the Parliament-Houſe, and the better to make the World believe it, there was Mr *Pickering* with his choice Horſe ready to make

an

an escape, but that stirred up some, who seeing the hainousness of the fact, and him ready to escape, in detestation of so horrible a deed, fell upon him and hewed him in pieces, and to make it more clear, there was his Horse, known to be of special speed and swiftness, ready to carry him away, and upon this rumor a Massacre should have gone through the whole land upon the Puritans. When the contrivance of this Plot was thus discovered by some of the Conspirators, and *Faux*, who was now a Prisoner in the Tower made acquainted with it, whereas before he was made to believe by his Companions that he should be bountifully rewarded for that his good service to the Catholick Cause, now perceiving that on the contrary his Death had been contrived by them, he thereupon freely confessed all that he knew concerning that horrid Conspiracy, which before all the tortures of the rack could not force him unto.

The truth of all this was attested by Mr *William Perkins*, an eminent Christian and Citizen of *London* to Dr *Gouge*, which Mr *Perkins* had it from the mouth of Mr *Clement Cotton*, that made our *English* Concordance, who also had it from the Relation of Mr *Pickering* himself.

The

The Names of those that were first *in this* Treason and laboured in the Mine, were *Robert Catesby*, *Robert Winter*, Esquires; *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, *Christopher Wright*, *Guy Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Bates*, *Catesbies* man.

Persons made acquainted with it, and Promoters of it, were

Sir *Everard Digby*, Knight; *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Francis Tresham*, Esquires; *John Grant*, Gentleman; *Robert Keyes*.

This prodigious contrivance did not only stupifie the whole Kingdom with consternation and amazement, but Foreign Princes, at least, seemed to wonder at it also, and though (for the propagation of the *Catholick cause*) they might have Conscience enough to wish that it had taken effect, yet they had policy enough to congratulate the discoverers; and some of them, to take off the asperity of the suspect, sweetned their expressions with many rich gifts to our King and Queen.

The Parliament by reason of the hurry occasioned hereby, met not till the ninth of *November*: at which time *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Stanton* not coming to the Parliament according to their Writ of *Summons*, were suspected as having

having knowledge of the Conſpiracy; and ſo was the Earl of *Northumberland*, from ſome preſumptions, and all three were Committed to the *Tower*. The two Barons after a while were redeemed by fine in *Starchamber*, but the Earl continued a Priſoner there for many years after.

How the Parliament was affected for this great deliverance of the whole Kingdom from ruine and deſtruction, will appear by the *Act* which they made to have the fifth of *November* for ever ſolemnized with *Publick Thanksgiving*: wherein they imputed the diſcovery of the Treaſon to the inſpiring the King with a divine ſpirit to interpret ſome dark *Phraſes* of the Letter, above, and beyond all ordinary conſtruction: they attainted alſo the blood of thoſe Traytors that were executed, as alſo of thoſe that were ſlain at *Holbach* Houſe, or that died in Priſon: and the King being not unmindful of the Lord *Mounteagle*, the firſt diſcoverer of this Treaſon, gave him, and his Heirs for ever, two hundred pounds a year in Fee-Farm Rents, and 500*l.* a year beſides, during his life, as a reward for his good ſervice. But now to the *Act* it ſelf.

An

An Act for a Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God every year on the fifth of *November*.

FOrasmuch as Almighty God hath in all Ages shewed his Power, and Mercy in the miraculous, and gracious deliverance of his Church; and in the protection of Religious Kings and States; and that no Nation of the Earth hath been blessed with greater benefits than this Kingdom now enjoyeth, having the true and free profession of the Gospel under our most Sovereign Lord King James, *the most Great, Learned, and Religious King that ever reigned therein, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful Progeny, proceeding out of his Royal Loyns, promising the continuance of this happiness, and profession to all Posterity: the which many malignant and Devilish* Papists, Jesuits, *and* Seminary Priests, *much envying, and fearing, conspired most horribly, when the Kings most Excellent Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, should have been Assembled in the Upper House of Parliament, upon the fifth day of* November *in the year of our Lord* 1605. *suddenly to have blown up*

the ſaid Houſe with Gunpowder; an inven-tion ſo inhumane, barbarous, and cruel, as the like was never before heard of; and was (as ſome of the principal Conſpirators confeſs) purpoſely deviſed, and concluded to be done in the ſaid Houſe, that, where ſundry neceſſary and Religious Laws for preſervation of the Church and State were made, which they falſly and ſlanderouſly term cruel Laws, *enacted againſt them and their Religion; both place and per-ſons ſhould be all deſtroyed and blown up at once, which would have turned to the utter ruine of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleaſed Almighty God, by inſpiring the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty with a divine ſpirit, to interpret ſome dark phraſes of a Letter ſhewed to his Majeſty, above, and beyond all ordi-nary conſtruction, thereby miraculouſly diſco-vering this hidden Treaſon, not many hours before the appointed time for the Execution thereof. Therefore the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all his Majeſties faithful and loving Subjects do moſt juſtly acknowledge this great and infinite bleſſing to have proceeded meerly from Gods great mercy, and to his moſt holy name do aſcribe all Honour, Glory, and Praiſe.*

And to the end this unfeigned thankfulneſs

may never be forgotten, but be had in a perpetual remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield praiſes to his Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and have in memory this joyful day of deliverance.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame: That all and ſingular Miniſters in every Cathedral, and Pariſh Church, or other uſual place for Common-Prayer, within this Realm of England, *and the Dominions of the ſame, ſhall alwaies upon the fifth day of* November *ſay Morning Prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this moſt happy deliverance; and that all and every perſon and perſons inhabiting within this Realm of* England, *and the Dominions of the ſame, ſhall alwaies upon that day diligently and faithfully reſort to the Pariſh Church or Chappel accuſtomed, or to ſome uſual Church or Chappel where the ſaid Morning Prayer, Preaching, or other ſervice of God ſhall be uſed, and then and there to abide orderly, and ſoberly, during the time of the ſaid Prayer, Preaching, or other ſervice of God, there to be uſed and miniſtred.*

And becauſe all and every perſon may be

put in mind of this duty, and be the better prepared to the said holy service. Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every Minister shall give warning to his Parishioners publickly in the Church at Morning Prayer the Sunday before every such fifth of November, *for the due observation of the said day. And that after Morning Prayer or Preaching on the said fifth day of* November, *they read distinctly and plainly this present Act.*

Upon

Upon the *Powder-Plot.*

OH Murtherous Plot! Posterity shall say,
'S Unholyness o're shoots Caligula.
The Pope by this and such designs ('tis plain)
Out-Babels Nimrod, *and out-Butchers* Cain.
Monteagle's *Letter was in dubious sence,*
And seem'd a piece of Stygian *Eloquence:*
The Characters look'd just like conj'ring spells;
For this bout Hell here spoke in Parables.
The Popes and Devil's Signet were set to't,
The Cloven Miter join'd to th' cloven foot.
Thus were our Senates like to be betray'd,
By a strange Egg in Peters *Chair 'twas laid:*
For had the Serpent hatcht it, the device
Had prov'd to us a bainful Cockatrice.
But Fawkes *his baffled hopes only bequeath,*
Instead of Comforts, thoughts of sudden death.
Like Hamans *Fate he only must aspire*
To the just advance of fifty Cubits higher.
But couldst thou think, thou monstrous Beast of Rome,
To Massacre at one sad blow by Doom,
And cast them down whom Heaven decreed to stand? [here,
Dark Lanthorns, whilst Truths Candlestick is
Thy Purple Plots our Nation need not fear.
The Beastly Whore may lay her Trump'tries by,
Until our sins are of her purple-die.

A Narrative of the visible hand of God upon the Papists, by the downfal in Black-Friers, London, *Anno Christi* 1623.

ON the Lords day, *October* the twenty sixth according to the *English* account, but *November* the fifth according to the *Popish* account, went far and near, that one *Drury* a *Romist Priest* (a man of parts, and eminent gifts) would preach that day in the afternoon in a fair house in *Black-Friers*, *London*, whither all that would might freely come and hear him.

Upon this report very many, Protestants as well as Papists, Scholars as well as others, assembled thither about three a Clock in the Afternoon. That mansion house was now inhabited by the *French* Ambassador: and the Sermon was to be in a Garret, into which there were two passages: One out of the Ambassadors withdrawing room which was private, the other more common without the great gate of the said mansion house.

Under this Garret was another large chamber which one *Redyate*, another Romiſh Prieſt, had hired for himſelf: Unto whom Papiſts frequently repaired to hear Maſs, and make confeſſions. Under this room was the aforeſaid withdrawing chamber of the Ambaſſadors: ſupported with ſtrong Arches of ſtone, being immediately over the entrance into the great houſe: And at the South-end of the Garret, and on the Weſt-ſide thereof, there were bed-chambers, and Cloſets which other Prieſts had hired for themſelves: The bed-chamber at the South-end, was ſevered from the Garret only by a partition of Wainſcote which was taken down for the Sermon-time: The length of the Garret from North to South was almoſt 40 foot, the breadth about 16 foot: The two aforeſaid paſſages met on one pair of ſtairs leading to the Garret which had only that one door leading into it.

More came to this place than poſſibly it could hold, ſo that many for want of room returned back again: others went into the aforeſaid *Redyates* chamber, and tarried with him. The whole Garret, rooms adjoyning, door and top of the ſtairs were as full as they could hold. In the Garret were ſet

chairs

chairs and ſtools for the better ſort: moſt of the women ſate on the floor, but moſt of the men ſtood thronged together: In all, about 200 were there aſſembled. In the midſt was a table and a chair for the Preacher.

All things thus prepared, and the multitude aſſembled, about three a clock the expected Preacher, having on a Surplice girt about his middle with a linnen girdle, and a tippet of Scarlet on both his ſhouldiers, came in, being attended by a man that brought after him his Book and Hour-glaſs.

As ſoon as he came to the table, he kneeled down with ſhew of private devotion for a little while: then riſing up, and turning himſelf to the people, he croſſed himſelf, took the book (which was ſaid to be a *Rhemiſh Teſtament*) out of his mans hands, and the hour-glaſs being ſet on the table, he opened the book, read the Goſpel appointed by the *Romiſh Calender* for that day, being the twenty firſt Sunday after *Pentecoſt*: The Goſpel was in *Mat.* 18. 23, *&c.* The Text being read, he ſate down, put on a red cap over a white linnen one turned up about the brims: He made no audible prayer, but having read his Text, which was the parable of forgiving debts, he ſpake ſomething of the occaſions of it, and then

propounded theſe three ſpecial points to be handled.

1. The debt we owe to God.
2. The mercy of God in forgiving it.
3. Mans unmercifulneſs to his brother.

Having inſiſted ſome while on the miſery of man by reaſon of the debt wherein he ſtands bound to God, he paſſed on to declare the rich mercy of God, and the means which God hath afforded to his Church, for partaking thereof: Amongſt which he reckoned up the Sacraments, and eſpecially preſſed the Sacrament of *Penance*, as they call it.

When he had diſcourſed on theſe points about half an hour, on a ſudden the floor whereon the preacher and the greateſt part of his auditory were, fell down with ſuch violence, as therewith the floor of the chamber under it where *Redyate* and his company were, was broken down with it, ſo that both the floors, with the beams, girders, joyces, boards, and ſeelings, with all the people on them, fell down together upon the third floor, which was the floor of the *French* Ambaſſadors withdrawing chamber, ſupported with ſtrong arches as aforeſaid.

There being a partition on the South-

ſide

ſide of the middle chamber which reached up to the floor of the Garret, which was at the Northweſt corner. Hereupon ſome through amazement, would have leaped out at a window almoſt forty foot from the ground: but the people without, telling them of the certain danger if they leaped down, kept them from that deſperate attempt: At length by breaking a wall on the Weſt ſide they diſcerned chambers adjoyning thereto, and ſo by creeping through that hole into the chambers, they were ſaved: So were all they that ſtood on the ſtair-head at the door leading into the Garret: For the ſtairs were without the room, and nothing fell but the floors, neither walls nor roof.

Alſo amongſt thoſe that fell, many eſcaped; for ſome of the timber reſted with one end on the Walls, and with the other on the third floor that yielded not, and ſo both ſuch as abode on thoſe pieces, and ſuch as were directly under them, were thereby preſerved. Amongſt the multitude that fell, there was a Miniſter who (through Gods providence) fell ſo between two pieces of timber, as that the timber kept his upper-parts from cruſhing: and help him by his claſping about the timber to

pull

pull out his feet from among the dead corpſes.

Amongſt others, the preſent preſervation and future deſtruction of one *Parker* was very remarkable. This *Parker* was a factor for the *Engliſh* Seminaries, and Nuns beyond Sea, eſpecially at *Cambro*; and he had ſo dealt with two of his brothers here, that he had got from one of them a ſon, and from the other a daughter, to ſend them to religious houſes (as they falſly call them) beyond ſea. This *Parker* at this time took his Nephew, a youth of about ſixteen years old to the aforementioned fatal Conventicle, where *Drury* preached: and both *Parker* and his Nephew fell with the reſt: The youth there loſt his life, but *Parker* himſelf eſcaped with a bruiſed body, being a corpulent man: yet ſo far was he from making a good uſe of his deliverance, that with much diſcontent he wiſhed he had died for his Nephew, ſaying, *that God ſaw him not fit to die amongſt ſuch Martyrs.* Many ſuch Martyrs have been made at *Tyburn* for treaſon: Such are *Romes* Martyrs. But *the preſervation of the wicked, is but a reſervation to future judgments*; for about ten dayes after, as this *Parker* was ſhooting *London-Bridge* with his aforeſaid Neece, whom he was

com-

conveying beyond Sea, they were both caſt away, and drowned in the *Thames*. *Judge by this* (O Parents) *whether God is well pleaſed with diſpoſing your Children to Popiſh education.*

Others there were that were pulled out alive, but ſo bruiſed, or ſo ſpent for want of breath, that ſome lived not many hours, others died not many days after.

The floor of the chamber immediately over this, where the Corps lay, being fallen, there was no entrance into it but through the Amballadours Bed-Chamber, the door whereof was cloſed up with the Timber of the floors that fell down; and the walls of this room were of ſtone, only there was one window in it with extraordinary ſtrong croſs barrs of Iron, ſo that though Smiths and other workmen were immediately ſent for, yet it was more than an hour before ſuccour could be afforded to them that were fallen down.

Paſſage at length being made, I had acceſs into the room (ſaith Doctor *Gouge*, the relater of this ſtory) and viewing the bodies, obſerved ſome (yet but few to be mortally wounded) or cruſhed by the Timber. Others to be apparently ſtifled, partly with their thick lying one upon another, and partly

partly with the duſt that came from the ceeling which fell down.

On the Lords day at night when they fell they were numbred ninety one dead bodies: but many of them were ſecretly conveyed away in the night, there being a pair of water-ſtairs leading from the Garden appertaining to the Houſe, into the *Thames*. On the morrow the Coroner and his Inqueſt coming to view the bodies found remaining but ſixty three.

Of thoſe that were carried away ſome were buried in a burying place within the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors houſe in *Holborn*, amongſt whom the Lady *Web* was one, the Lady *Blackſtones* Daughter another, and one Miſtris *Udal* a third: Maſter *Stoker*, and Maſter *Bartholmew Bavin* were buried in *Brides* Pariſh. *Robert Sutton*, *John Lovcham*, and *Abigail Holford* in *Andrews Holborn*. Captain *Summers* wife in the vault under *Black-Friers* Church, and her woman in the Church-yard. For the Corps remaining, two great Pits were digged, one in the fore Court of the ſaid *French* Ambaſſadors Houſe eighteen foot long, and twelve foot broad, the other in the Garden behind his Houſe, Twelve foot long, and eight foot broad. In the former Pit were

laid

laid forty four Corps, whereof the Bodies of the aforesaid *Drury* and *Redyate* were two. These two wound up in sheets, were first laid into the Pit, with a Partition of loose Earth to sever them from the rest. Then were others brought, some in somewhat a decent manner wound up in sheets, but the most in a most lamentable plight, the shirts only of the men tyed under the twists, and some linnen tyed about the middle of the Women, the rest of their Bodies naked, and one poor Man, or Woman taking a Corps by the Head, another by the Feet tumbled them in, and so piled them up almost to the top of the Pit. The rest were put into the other Pit in the Garden.

Their manner of burial seemed almost as dismal, as the heap of them, when they lay upon the floor where they last fell. No obsequies of funeral rites were used at their Burial. Only the day after, a black Cross of wood was set upon each Grave, but was soon by authority commanded to be taken down.

When they were thus interred, thorough search was made about the cause of the falling of the Timber: The Timber of each floor was laid together, and the measure of the

the Summers that brake was taken. The main Summer which croſſed the Garret was ten Inches ſquare: Two Girders were by Tenents, and Mortaiſes let into the middeſt of it, one juſt againſt another: the Summer was knotty where the Mortaiſes were made, whereupon being over-burdened, it knapped ſuddenly aſunder in the middeſt.

The main Summer of the other floor that fell was much ſtronger, being thirteen Inches ſquare, ſtrong and ſound every where, neither did the Girders meet ſo juſt one againſt another; yet that alſo failed, not in the middeſt as the uppermoſt, but within five foot of one end, and that more ſhiveringly, and with a longer rent in the Timber than the other. For this Chamber was almoſt full with ſuch perſons as coming too late, went into *Redyates* Chamber: Beſides, it did not only bear the weight which lay on the upper floor, but received it with a ſudden knock, and ſo the maſſie Timber ſhivered in two, and the people were irrecoverably, before they could fear any ſuch thing, beaten down into the third floor, which was above twenty foot from the firſt.

It's true we muſt not be raſh in cenſu-

ring, yet when we ſee judgments executed on Sinners, in the act of their ſin, when they are impudent and preſumptuous therein, not to acknowledge ſuch to be judged by the Lord, is to wink againſt clear light, *Pſal.* 9. 16. *God is known by the judgments which he executeth.* Shall *Nebuchadnezzar*, while he is vaunting of his great *Babylon*, be bereft of his wits? Shall *Herod*, whilſt he is priding himſelf in the flattering applauſe of the people, be eaten with Worms? Shall *Haman*, whilſt he is practiſing to deſtroy all the people of God, be hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high which he had prepared for *Mordecai?* Shall the Houſe where the *Philiſtins* met together to ſport with *Sampſon*, fall upon their heads? Shall theſe and ſuch like judgments overtake men in the very act of their ſin, and yet be accounted no judgments, no evidences of Gods revenging Juſtice, or ſigns of his indignation? Truly then we may deny all providence, and attribute all to chance: But add hereto, that this fell out upon their fifth of *November*, and it will be as clear as if written with a Sunbeam, that the Pit which they digged for others, they themſelves fell into it.

Doctor

Doctor *Gouge*, who relates this ſtory in his *Extent of Gods Providence*, thus writeth.

I do the more confidently publiſh this Hiſtory, becauſe I was an eye-witneſs of many of the things therein related; and heard from the mouths of ſuch as were preſent at the Sermon, the reſt. For upon the firſt hearing of the deſtruction of ſo many perſons as by that downfal loſt their lives, our Conſtable preſently cauſed the gates of our Precinct (it being ſurrounded with walls and gates) to be ſhut, and raiſed a ſtrong guard from amongſt the inhabitants, to keep the houſe where this accident fell out, and to prevent tumults about it. Thus through the favour of the Conſtables, and Watch, who were all my neighbours, I had the more free and quiet acceſs to view the dead bodies, and to inform my ſelf of all the material circumſtances about that accident: which I did the rather becauſe the Biſhop of *London* that then was, ſent to me to inform my ſelf throughly of all the buſineſs, and to ſend him a narration thereof under my hand; whereupon I did not only view matters my ſelf, but cauſed Carpenters to ſearch the Timber, to take the meaſures both of the Timber and rooms. I was

alſo preſent with the Coroner and his Inqueſt at their examining of all circumſtances about the buſineſs. And the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſending to me to come to him, and to bring with me the beſt evidence I could, I got the foreman of the Jury, and four perſons that were preſent at the Sermon, and fell down with the reſt, but by God's providence eſcaped death, and one that ſtood without the door, within hearing, but fell not; all theſe I got to go along with me to *Lambeth*, where I heard the witneſs which they gave to the Archbiſhop about this matter. One that fell with the reſt, and eſcaped death, was Maſter *Gee* a Preacher in *Lancaſhire*; two others were a ſon and ſervant to a Citizen in *Pater-Noſter-Row*: The reſt were men of good underſtanding, able to apprehend what they ſaw and heard, and to relate what they conceived.

Books Printed for and are to be ſold by John Hancock, *at the Sign of the three Bibles in* Popes-Head-Alley, *in* Cornhill.

TWelve Books lately publiſhed by Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, late Preacher of the Goſpel at *Margaret New-fiſhſtreet*.

1. *Precious Remedies againſt Satans Devices*; or Salve for Believers and Unbelievers ſores; being a Companion for thoſe that are in Chriſt or out of Chriſt.

2. *Heaven on Earth*; or, A ſerious diſcourſe touching a well grounded aſſurance of mans everlaſting happineſs.

3. The unſearchable Riches of Chriſt, held forth in 22. Sermons.

4. *Apples of Gold for Young Men and Women.*

5. *A ſtring of Pearls*; or, The beſt things reſerved till laſt.

6. *The Mute Chriſtian under the Smarting Rod, with Soveraign Antidotes*

tidotes against the most miserable Exigents.

7. *An Ark for all Gods* Noahs *in a stormy day.*

8. *The Crown and Glory of Christianity*, in 48. Sermons, on *Heb.* 12. 14.

9. *The Privy Key of Heaven:* or, A Discourse of Closet Prayer.

10. *An Heavenly Cordial*, for such as have had (or escaped) the Plague.

11. *A Cabinet of choice Jewels*; or, *A Box of Precious Ointment.* Containing special Maxims, Rules, and Directions, in order to the clearing up of a Mans Interest in Christ, and his title to all the Glory of another World.

12. *Londons Lamentations* touching the Fire.

The Godly mans Ark, in several Sermons, to which is added Mr. *Moors* evidences for Heaven. By *Edmund Calamy*, B.D. at *Aldermanbury*.

Christs Communion with his Church Mili-

Militant, by *Nicholas Lockyer.*

Sin the Plague of Plagues, by Mr. *Ralph Venning.*

A True Narrative of those two never to be forgotten Deliverances, one from the *Spaniſh Invaſion* in 88. the other from the *Nelliſh Powder-Plot*, *November* 5. 1605. by Mr. *Samuel Clark.* With Qu. *Eliz.* Speech.

The Accurate Accomptant; or, *London Merchant.* Being Inſtructions for keeping Merchants Accompts. By *Tho. Brown* Accomptant.

Short-writing, the moſt Eaſie, Exact, Lineal, and Speedy Method that hath ever been obtained. By *Theophilus Metcalfe.*

Alſo a Book called a Schoolmaſter to it, Explaining all the Rules thereof.

A Copy-Book of the neweſt and moſt uſeful hands.

Bridges Remains: Being eight choice Sermons. By Mr. *William Bridge* of *Yarmouth.*

Vennings Remains: Being the ſubſtance of many Sermons. By Mr. *Ralph Venning.*

Venning. On 1 *John* 2. 12, 13, 14.

A Diſſwaſive from Conformity to the World, together with a farewel Sermon. By *Henry Stubbs*.

Mr. *Baxter*'s Poor Mans Family Book.

Luther's 34. ſpecial and choice Sermons.

Comæ Berenices, or the Hairy Comet.

The Young mans Conflict with, and Victory over the Devil, or the Experiences of *Tho. Powell*, begun in the fifteenth and continued till the ſeventeenth year of his Age.

Goſpel Love, Heart, Purity, and the flouriſhing of the Righteous: Being the laſt Sermons of Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*.

A Word of Advice to Saints; or, A Choice drop of Honey from the Rock Chriſt.

Mr. Mahews *Legacy to his Children*, being full of good Counſel.

A brief Deſcription of *New York*.

FINIS.